The Commonweal

A Weekly Review of Literature, The Arts and Public Affairs

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THE MORAL REVOLUTION

THE PRESIDENT of Columbia University, Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, stands high among the really potent leaders of the truly conservative and traditional forces of Christian civilization. There is perhaps no other American who is so intimately aware of the danger which now threatens that civilization, of which the institutions and the culture of the United States form an integral part. When he writes or speaks on public questions, he does not utter mere generalities, or the abstract opinions of a cloistered scholarship, or the narrow views of an administrator of a university, worried by his personal or official problems. All his long life he has given practical service, not only a schoolmaster's detached advice, to his local community, to his state, to his nation, and to humanity. That service has been political, in the high, true Aristotelian sense of that sorely abused word; not a selfish striving for personal or party advantages, profit or power, but conscientious labor for the general welfare. And that service has been intellectual: not in the restricted or pedantic sense of the term, but rather in stimulating, directing and increasing the application of educated thought toward the strengthening and the enrichment of mankind's daily life. And that service, it seems to us, has reached its highest level of importance in the message to our nation contained in Dr. Butler's address to the graduates of Columbia University this year.

He begins by quoting what he truly calls a prophetic passage from Thomas Jefferson, in which that apostle of democracy warned the Americans of his day that their rulers might become corrupt, and the mass of the people careless of their rights. "A single zealot may commence persecution, and better men be his victims. It can never too often be repeated, that the time for fixing every essential right on a legal basis is while our rulers are honest, and our people united.

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From the conclusion of this war [of the American Revolution] we shall be going down hill. It will not then be necessary to resort every moment to the people for support. They will be forgotten therefore, and their right disregarded. They will forget themselves, but in the sole faculty of making money, and will never think of uniting to effect a due respect for their rights. The shackles, therefore, which shall not be knocked off at the conclusion of this war, will remain on us long, will be made heavier and heavier, till our rights shall revive or expire in a convulsion."

And now, more than 150 years later, Dr. Butler tells the graduates of his university that the one dominant question before the world which they are entering is, whether these human rights are to "revive or to expire in a convulsion"—and that, "the answer to this question, when it comes, will be given not from economics, or what is vaguely described as social science, or from law or from politics. It must come, if it comes at all, from morals."

If it comes at all!

This qualifying phrase would seem to indicate that in Dr. Butler's mind, as in many other minds, there is a haunting dread that society may be bogging down in its slough of despond. That there is a decadence so deep and general that nothing can now avail to arrest its fatal course. But while it may be that the shadow of such a dread possibility is present in Dr. Butler's address, the chief energy of his thought is directed against it.

The fundamental difficulty of the crisis in society today "is that to which Jefferson points, namely, that the tendency of material self-interest, of money-making and of the thirst for power is to dominate and to suppress the higher instincts for self-expression and for human service. It is just this conflict between the zeal for gain-seeking and the human service motive that is the origin of all the troubles which afflict the modern social order. All attempts to overcome this conflict by statutory enactment are, and must be, wholly futile. The same is true of all attempts to overcome it by administrative act or regimentation. These truly abhorrent and forbidden forces may rule for a time, but failure—necessary failure—is written all over them."

We must not for a moment believe that the despotism which has already, in various forms, seized power over so many nations—and the threat of which is spreading among ourselves—can maintain its hold. Yet it is tragically obvious that human liberties and rights have gone into eclipse in many countries and are endangered everywhere. "What is it, then," Dr. Butler asks, "which endangers liberty? It is endangered by the widespread inability of those who enjoy liberty to justify it through their use of it in a spirit of highest self-expression and human service. In other words, it is the immoral or the unmoral use of liberty which invites the despot to raise his head and which offers him his opportunity."

The frightful consequences of the immoral use of liberty on the grand scale are revealed by Dr. Butler in tragic vividness. As he points out, the history of the post-war epoch is "crowded with the broken promises of governments, with disregarded treaties and with action in defiance of even the noblest and loftiest pledges which governments can take. It would seem that morals have disappeared as a force in shaping international conduct and international relations." And yet at a time when pledges apparently mean nothing, the governments and the new despotic rulers go on giving or inviting new pledges and agreements. But mankind itself, the almost helpless peoples of the world, can take no real interest in pledges or treaties, and will take none, until or unless "there is conclusive demonstration that a new spirit of moral faith and moral purpose has come into being. . . . Morals are sovereign, but no government is so. . . . Since morals speak no one language and are confined to no one hemisphere, they are the test by which these changes and happenings are to be measured and weighed. If we can get back to morals, the world will again begin to progress in the spirit of achievement which has marked it for two thousand years."

So far, in rough, brief summary, Dr. Butler's thesis goes. A call, that will be heard throughout what is left of Christendom, for the counter-revolution of morals. How is it to be effected—how led—how made practically as well as abstractly true? For us, at least, there is but one answer, namely, through the leadership of the Catholic Church, the mother, the preserver, the restorer, of human civilization.

Week by Week

The Trend of Events

EVEN the troubling meditations normal in an election year could not induce members of the Senate finance committee to write a tax bill embodying the President's recommendations of March 3. The committee itself had produced a measure embodying political dynamite in the form of increased surtaxes on moderate-sized incomes. So marked was Mr. Roosevelt's lack of sympathy with these proposals that it required the eloquence of Vice-President Garner to create the impression that June 6 must be considered the dead-line for the congressional migration out of Washington. It now remains to be seen whether the Senate, by doing without sleep and imbibing long draughts of oratory, can make up its mind satisfactorily about both taxes

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and relief. Apparently a number of other measures in favor of which considerable pressure had been exerted were destined to receive no attention. Perhaps the chief among these is the Wagner Housing bill, which would authorize federal grants of aid to build low-cost dwellings in urban areas. This legislation, to which men in the most diverse camps have contributed time and thought, would attack one of the most vital of our social problems. Adequate housing at a price the average wage-earner can afford to pay is scarcer in opulent America than it is in any other country in the world. But though one cannot reasonably expect anything to be done now, there is little doubt that the Wagner bill, with whatever amendments are deemed expedient, will be snowed under indefinitely. Other important legislation must share the same fate. This is, after all, election year primarily. At present, however, the alignments are still difficult to estimate with any finality. By another 5 to 4 decision denying the constitutionality of the New York minimum wage law, the Supreme Court did much to strengthen the conviction of those who feel that the issue of a constitutional amendment limiting the powers of the Court is sure to be a bone of contention during the approaching campaign. When it threw out the Guffey Coal bill, the Court was still acting in the tradition of constitutional law as interpreted during many years. But the denial to a state of the right to eliminate abhorred abuses of economic power will seem in wide circles to prove that the present conservative justices have run amuck in their opposition to every sort of government regulation. One need be no prophet to foresee that such actions will create, on a large scale, demands that the power of the Chief Executive be greatly increased. The political theorist may deplore that trend. But there can be no doubt now that, if its present views continue, the Supreme Court will be primarily responsible.

Three Cheers for Slander

THE FANTASTIC, almost incredible report that 276 Franciscans had been placed on trial for heinous offenses against the moral code must naturally arouse even sleepy Americans to a realization of the force of the attack now being leveled against the Catholic Church in Germany. It is, of course, strange that this particular assault was made prior to the Olympic Games, and one can only suppose that some official, inspired by the track events he is to witness (and at which, alas, fine young Catholic athletes from this country also will help to glorify the swastika), "jumped the gun" and brought matters to a head. A few weeks ago, a similar trial involving twenty-five young men was staged quietly. It appears that all were acquitted, and most observers supposed that it has been merely an endeavor to pin something additional on the leaders of Catholic Youth Organizations, who are about to appear before the courts to defend themselves against charges of high treason. The 276 Franciscans are, however, a case apart. There were obviously no foreign correspondents at the trial. Errors of fact and interpretation even in the most fulsome accounts, notably that in the New York *Times,* indicate that the writers were struggling to piece together bits of fugitive information.

THAT efforts to defame a large number of priests and religious have been in preparation for a long time is no secret. Some American and many foreign periodicals have carried information to show that the Nazi Propaganda Office had rifled archives, "faked" photographs and manufactured evidence calculated to prove corruption on a grand scale. This was, then, to be the carefully prepared third wave of offensive against the Catholic faith. Originally, to be sure, the Nazis had planned to absorb Protestantism first, but the heroic Lutheran pastors were so well aware of the anti-Christian tendencies of the régime that since then attacks upon Catholics and Protestants have alternated. The first wave in so far as the Church is concerned fell upon those who had previously been active in the Center party. "Political Catholicism" was the slogan by means of which a destructive raid was carried out almost unopposed, involving the fortunes or even the lives of thousands of the priests and the laity. The second wave was directed at religious communities and diocesan authorities who, as a result of activities carried on abroad, could be accused—sometimes plausibly—of violating the laws governing the use of foreign exchange. Here the objective was defamation plus pauperization. The third wave brings an effort to destroy the good name of the Catholic clergy. While the reports now given out are too absurd to merit refutation, it is perhaps well to remember that many will believe anything said against a priest. Therefore let us advertise the fact that Protestant tributes to the moral integrity of the German Catholic clergy are so numerous and sincere that a party which has blood as well as filth on its soul would have to burn the literature of seventy years if it wished to prove its point to the impartial. And do not let us forget either what persecution is!

The Drink Evil

WE THINK that the public should ponder soberly and well the recent utterance of the Reverend Harry Emerson Fosdick on present-day intemperance. When some calamity rushes upon us—such as the legal calamity of prohibition, for example—we trace the past down which it came, and marvel at our own obtuseness in not having foreseen and pre-

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vented it. During the reign of the Eighteenth Amendment we freely admitted the evils which had made the enacting of that tragic mistake inevitable: the degradations of drink, the suffering it entailed upon the innocent, its alliance with corrupt politics, the apathy of the great body of citizens to the situation. We saw all this clearly after the event—and we saw clearly that we could have forestalled the event. It is Dr. Fosdick's contention that this situation is repeating itself since the repeal of prohibition—he believes, indeed, that the present state of things is actually worse than that which was responsible for the dry law, since the mechanization which makes a greater hazard of drink has now increased, and since, moreover, women drink more freely. And not even his expressed belief that prohibition was a failure keeps him from uttering the warning: "As sure as history repeats itself, a revolt is coming." We ourselves are not quite ready to aver that things are so black as this; we think, paradoxical as it may sound, that there is a social gain in the wider acceptance of drinking as such, since that makes temperance and abstinence matters of personal judgment and moral control, and not, as formerly in many cases, matters of rigid religious belief. But it cannot be denied that the abuses are increasing; the promise of the period following repeal, of moderation and maturity on the part of the public, is definitely further from being realized than seemed to be the case. The "revolt" may not be near; but it is manifest that unless general common sense and decency intervene to control the situation, "revolt" will eventually make itself felt; leaving our last state considerably worse than our first.

The Thin Line

HALTINGLY, feebly, the old men in their blue uniforms marched once again. A generation ago, one saw whole brigades of them. Each Memorial Day brought its ritual, the most elaborate patriotic ceremonial America has devised. In the mornings little flags were brought freshly to the graves, while boys and girls groomed for the occasion stood round and thought in awe of a time when the cannon and the rifles had been used in dead earnest. Abraham Lincoln's memory hovered above it all in the northern country; and each place remembered the grim general who had been its especial pride. It is very hard to understand now that it should have been so—that the long parades of veterans symbolized so vividly both the stark tragedy and the victory. There were grim reminders of the horrors of war (men who had lost an arm or a leg, and we recall at least two who had gone completely blind), but one thought less of them or of the soldier's glory than of an awful, towering something which may well have been "the will of the people." This it had been, after all, which had originally created so many blue uniforms and which then had fought so many battles. Women still wept, though summers and winters almost too numerous to count had gone by. Tiny lads came home and waved their wooden swords. Some few spoke of words the orators had used. Yet all that was not Memorial Day. Memorial Day was the growing conscious of the reality of nationhood. In part it was a stifling pressure, in part a source of unforgettable pride. Citizens have largely forgotten what it was. America has had no comparable experience. We sincerely and fervently hope it never will.

Comrades and Sirs

EMILY POST has recently gone into the admittedly difficult problem of when to call Mr. Smith "Mr. Smith," "John," and "my husband." Her subtleties are no doubt good for the public, but they do not go far enough. When is one's husband, Mr. John Smith, to be called "Comrade"? If Mrs. Post believes that people who would have any thought of calling a man "Comrade" are not the type who would worry about such elegancies of address, she is very wrong. A large proportion of speakers at Leftward gatherings display their embarrassment at this very issue by starting off their talks: "Comrades—Ladies and Gentlemen ["if there are any present" is the stock addition for a laugh]—Friends." The revolutionary knows very well which appellation he accepts, but the non-revolutionary is in a quandary. A friend he should certainly be willing to be. In such an environment, however, one is apt to be rather critical of the concept of lady and gentleman. Those terms have not been worth much for centuries, and by the time one gets to a Red meeting one has likely decided that a "gentleman," as understood in such writings, for instance, as those of Emily Post, is a somewhat repulsive figure. This is one of the difficult problems: Has the term and article become utterly corrupted and fit only for repudiation, or will one still accept it, interpreting it hypocrisy for one who repudiates the Com- society columns? But "Comrade" is the really hard decision. One is less willing to give that up than "gentleman." Does accepting it mean that one accepts Marxian dialectical materialism? Is it hypocrisy for one who repudiates the Communist revolution to embrace it? Before Mrs. Post and Mr. Browder and other authorities settle the issue, it might seem that those may call themselves Comrades who do not look for social pacification to those now most generally called our ladies and gentlemen but rather to those who know quite well they are not meant when those old designations are used.

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TOLEDANO AND MEXICO

By RANDALL POND

Commenting on the Mexican situation some time ago, we pointed out that the clue to much that may happen is Toledano, "archpriest of Mexican Communism." Our correspondent now furnishes the accompanying article. More recently, the Cárdenas government's action in the railroad strike has been construed as a check to Toledano's ambitions. On his behalf a pamphlet was issued criticizing the government but avoiding a direct hostile attack upon the President himself.—The Editors.

AT THE southwest corner of the streets called Cinco de Mayo and Motolinia in Mexico City, there stands a plain, two-story building of possibly colonial origin. One's eye is attracted by the blood-red sign which announces *Futuro* in huge white letters—and by the big red and black flag which drapes over the second-floor balcony. Behind sign and flag are the offices of Vicente Lombardo Toledano, archpriest of Mexican Communism.

For some months now, people in the United States have been hearing rumors of a man named Toledano who seemingly had a lot to say about Mexican affairs. Some discerning observers in the old Aztec capital saw him as a coming power and told their papers so. But up to now, the man behind the red and black flag has received much less publicity than that accorded Tomás Garrido Canabal when the Tabascan potentate was rousing his countrymen to fury. Yet, in this writer's judgment, Toledano is a far more dangerous man than Canabal ever was.

Who is Lombardo Toledano? He first came into prominence as an assistant to Luis Morones when that gentleman was organizing the CROM (Confederacion Regional Obrera Mexicana) some ten years ago. Morones was Callista; so was Toledano. He moved into the National University on a wave of radical feeling, but was washed out again when the tide changed. His Marxism, acquired in days spent with the pseudo-Socialist Morones, was unwelcome in the various university departments which he attempted to invade with what Mexicans denominate "exotic ideas."

Toledano, often called "a lawyer without clients" and "a labor leader who has never labored," tried to start his own school under the name of Universidad Gabino Barreda. Devoted almost exclusively to workers and peasants, it never got beyond the embryonic stage. Late in 1935, however, it underwent a metamorphosis and emerged as the Universidad Obrera with, of course, Licenciado Toledano as rector. The faculty is composed of vocal and practising Communists, though the rector likes to speak of "Marxian Socialists" rather than of Communists. To all intents and purposes, the institution is supported by government funds.

In addition to this rectorship, Toledano publishes the radical monthly, *Futuro,* mentioned earlier. In it pages capitalists, clericals and reactionaries, the three straw men of Mexican politics, are set up and demolished with clocklike regularity. Last, but most powerful of all his positions, is Lombardo's leadership of the CTM (Confederacion Trabajadores Mexicanos), built on the ruins of CROM, which was disintegrating long before Morones was wafted to Brownsville with the ex-dictator, Plutarco Elias Calles.

Toledano and his CTM reached the top of the labor heap just previous to the Calles return last December. Seizing the opportunity to climb aboard the Cárdenas bandwagon in sensational style, Toledano called a meeting of his union in front of the National Palace. There he harangued the workers for almost an hour, blasting away at everything that did not contribute to "the forward advance of the peasant and the laborer." From that time on, his influence grew amazingly and it is rumored that Cárdenas frequently calls on him for advice.

The opposition press, which means little more than two papers issued tri-weekly, *El Hombre Libre* and *Omega,* aided by the courageous daily, *Novedades,* have accused Toledano of receiving subsidies from Russia. His journey to what he calls "the Soviet paradise," made about a year ago, furnishes grounds for the accusation. Since his return he has greatly increased his efforts to spread the doctrines of Marx and Lenin. The fact that he has plenty of money for tracts, pamphlets and Leftist publications of all kinds (much of it printed on government presses) lays him open to suspicion of receiving such subsidies, though he consistently denies the charges.

Following the December speech, Toledano jumped into the Monterey difficulties with both feet, appearing in the Queen City of the North when labor troubles were at their height in February.

Fifty thousand people, counting among them men and women from all walks of life, marched in an anti-Communist parade, so alarming to the administration that Cárdenas himself went up to investigate. As usual, the employers and non-

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radical elements came off second best and Toledano chalked it up as another victory.

His meddling in the Monterey dispute did not end with the strike's settlement. Conservative elements had taken movies of the demonstration so that Mexicans in all parts of the country could see the type of people who made the anti-Communist protest. When the negative of the film arrived in Mexico City, Toledano and a group of CTM leaders went to the distributing studio and asked to see the picture. After it was shown, the group confronted the manager, seized the film and declared it confiscated on the grounds that "it was a false and bourgeoisie picture of what really happened in Monterey."

Despite the wide protest aroused and the demands for prosecution, no arrests were made and the arrogance of the leader and his followers increased accordingly.

It is interesting to note the Lombardian method of removing enemies from "the path of labor." The Golden Shirts (Camisas Doradas), never a real power in Mexican politics, despite the recent words of Dr. Samuel Inman, were, at the same time, a thorny hindrance to Leftist growth. After a clash between Golden Shirts and Communists in November, Lombardo and his crew demanded the dissolution of the Fascist organization on the grounds that it was "opposed to the public welfare." Needless to say, the government has now complied with the request. A few days later, Hernan Laborde, CTM leader, raided the Fascist office and smashed furniture, typewriters, etc. A large sum of money was missing after the raid.

But Lombardo's greatest opportunity for a master stroke came out of the Paso Grande dynamiting, a tragedy which shocked all Mexico. Despite lack of proof against them, Calles, Morones, Leon and Ortega, designated by the CTM as the chief enemies of "labor" (that is, Toledano's group) were exiled on Good Friday morning in April, 1936.

Thus, at one blow, were removed Calles, leader of the conservative revolutionary element, and Morones, chieftain of the CROM corporation of syndicates, the last remaining barriers to Toledano's ambition to rule as undisputed dictator of Mexican labor.

Nor should it be forgotten, as an indication of the close affiliation of Cárdenas with Toledano, that the latter undertook a defense of the President's action against the so-called "sinister gang." On Easter Sunday morning, Attorney Toledano (he is very good at doubling in brass) addressed his organization before the National Palace. In addition to denying his Communism and asserting that Socialism was an irresistible force that no individual or nation could withstand, he evolved a constitutional interpretation that justified presidential procedure against Calles et al.

According to his reasoning, a man may claim legal and constitutional guarantees only when his ideas and beliefs are in accord with "Revolutionary ideals." It should be noted that the Constitution forbids exile as punishment for crime, no matter what it be. Therefore, it was necessary to show that the new ideas, which are supposed to be socialistic and which are in reality communistic, are of more importance than personal rights. If a man opposes Cárdenas, Toledano and Communism and voices his opposition, his legal and constitutional guarantees are automatically abolished.

This twisted reasoning is characteristic of Toledano. He is the glorifier of Marxian materialism, of Leninian opportunism, of Stalinian industrialism. He shouts that he is not a Communist and then strains every nerve to advance Communism. He is reputed to have picked most of the fifteen members of the radical Council of Higher Education and Scientific Investigation, appointed by Cárdenas. He pretends to religious tolerance in public speeches, but his publications are bitter in their anti-religious attacks.

His latest maneuver in student circles has won him a title worthy of a Cervantes or a Lope de Vega. Meeting in Vera Cruz in late April, the Socialist Student Congress closed its sessions with certain recommendations. Among them were: immediate recognition of Soviet Russia; reestablishment of relations with the same government; and designation of V. Lombardo Toledano as "maestro of the Revolutionary Youth of Ibero America."

Not just Mexico, but Ibero America! Toledano is reputedly of Italian descent; surely in these resolutions can be seen the workings of a fine Italian hand!

The thin, large-eared man with undeniable powers as an orator, is a real force in Mexico today. He has suffered a few minor setbacks in strike defeats, union disputes and Cabinet jealousies. The peasant organization of Portes Gil has little in common with the labor groupings of Toledano; friction has resulted lately and may become more irritating. Red flags on government schools came down after Monterey's 50,000 protested. Foreign capital keeps a close eye on public affairs and, demagog though he is, Toledano knows he could do little in industry with ignorant workers minus capital.

A presidential frown, a shift against Cárdenas's popularity, assassination—these are dangers that threaten Lombardo Toledano today. His changing fortunes are of wide interest to Mexicans and Americans alike. They will bear watching.

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THE CAMPUS AND THE CAPITAL

By OLIVER McKEE, JR.

UNDER an invitation from the Institute of Public Affairs, about sixty undergraduates, picked from political science classes in a dozen universities and colleges, came to Washington the end of March for a seven-day inspection of federal activities. A full and varied calendar had been arranged by the institute. They visited the House of Representatives, the Senate and Supreme Court, interviewed department and bureau chiefs, talked with the directing heads of the Republican and Democratic National Committees, watched the wheels of the New Deal agencies go round, explored the technique of the public pressure groups, and studied the methods of lobbies and lobbyists. Other college groups, who had visited Washington for somewhat similar surveys, had already blazed the trail for this undergraduate seminar in government. For the college campus, in the East, West and South, is astir with a new interest in the problems of practical politics. Princeton has its School of Public Affairs, Yale undergraduates have organized a Political Union, modeled after the famous Oxford Union, nursery of British statesmen, and Harvard will shortly establish a school of public administration, under a gift from former Congressman Lucius N. Littauer. Many other instances of the same trend could be cited. Not only are college students evidencing a much keener interest than ever before in public affairs but university authorities are taking steps to provide a more effective training for public service.

How shall we explain this political "renaissance" among our present-day undergraduates? The Roosevelt administration provides one answer. In drafting university professors both to assist in framing government policies and to administer the various agencies set up to carry out these policies, Mr. Roosevelt has encouraged an interest in public affairs among the students taught by the professors called to Washington. Though the Brain Trust has suffered a partial eclipse, university and college professors are still heavily represented in the federal roster, and the Republican National Committee, not to be outdone, has set up a Brain Trust of its own, in preparation for the campaign, with a staff that now numbers about fifty, and is growing. Because of its brilliant experimentation, and the boldness of its social reforms, the New Deal has excited public discussion, both pro and con, in which students and professors are taking part.

The sweeping changes brought by the depression on the economic and social order have also contributed to quickening undergraduate interest in current political questions. The impact of hard times has destroyed the ancient sense of security that prevailed among those Americans whose sons and daughters, not so many years ago, came so easily by their college education. The shrinkage in incomes from investments, the difficulty which graduates of the depression year classes have encountered in landing a job, the shadow of future uncertainties in a topsy turvy world—these have caused many college students to examine, with critical eye, the bases of American society. This examination naturally includes a study of the New Deal, and the remedies which it has offered for the economic ills of the times.

One more factor may be cited—the new opportunities for a career which have been opened up by the vast expansion of federal activities during the past three years. Though jobs in business and industry are still few, Uncle Sam has many thousands more on his list than ever before. Many an undergraduate now studying his political science textbooks so assiduously, has his eye, no doubt, on the possibility of a government job.

College men and women, in the past, have failed to exert an influence on the political life of the nation commensurate with their numbers, and their educational advantages. A recent article in *Fortune* magazine, analyzing the records of a dozen or more leading preparatory schools, marshaled data to show that these schools, the American counterparts of Eton, Harrow and Rugby, have turned out far fewer public leaders than the great English schools. A public career heretofore has attracted a much smaller percentage of our ablest college graduates than have business and the professions. Because of the spoils system, opportunities for a permanent career in the government, for educated men and women, have been comparatively limited. The army and navy offers an honorable career for a limited number. The Foreign Service of the State Department also offers a few career appointments, independent of the vicissitudes of party politics. In other federal agencies, and in state and city governments, some college men and women have found opportunities, in the public service, for a permanent career. By and large, however, government in this country has been in the hands of professional politicians, born and bred to the theory of the spoils system. Particularly in our cities, graft and corruption have been so common that most educated men and women have had little desire to go into practical politics.

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Important changes, however, have taken place in the last decade or two. The problems of government, both city, state and national, are vastly more complicated than they were a few years ago. Economic and social questions now challenge the best thought of the country, in and out of the universities. Government costs offer an illustration in point. In the Taft administration, the whole cost of the federal government was only about $1,000,000,000 annually. This year, the Roosevelt administration will spend $7,000,000,000 and more. So in other fields. With the passing of the old frontier, the problem facing the American people is not the taming of the Continent, but how to make the most efficient utilization of our present resources. Government, in a word, has become a business for the expert and technician, not for the untrained politician. The airplane, the motor car, the streamlined express train have broken down state lines, and upon the federal government fall many responsibilities unknown a generation ago. As the range of federal responsibility expands, with new controls and responsibilities—and many of these will remain even if the Republican party is returned a victor in November—the counsel of the expert and technician will be needed more than ever before by the nation's political leaders. In the TVA, in the administration of relief and the Social Security Act, soil conservation, and many other activities, the specialist and technician are needed quite as much as they are in the Public Health Service, or Forest Service.

In fairness to our universities, it can hardly be said that they were completely unmindful of their public responsibilities in the past. Many professors have rendered distinguished public service. Woodrow Wilson, from the presidency of Princeton, went to the governor's chair in New Jersey and from there to the White House, as the titular leader of one of the two major political parties. The American colleges have included in their curricula for many years courses in political science and government. In them undergraduates have studied the classics of political science, from Aristotle, to Montesquieu, Burke, the Federalist, and James Bryce. Though sound in their theoretical instruction, few of these college courses were closely related to the problems of contemporary politics. As often as not, they were taught by men who had never left the cloistered quiet of the university, who had never attended a national political convention, watched a congressional committee at work, talked with lobbyists or rubbed elbows with the politicians, whether in the city precinct, state capitol or in Washington. This perhaps explains in part why, in spite of the volume and excellence of the theoretical instruction, the university up-to-date has made so small an impression on American political life. Army commanders leading troops apply the principles they learned at the Army War College, or the Ecole de Guerre. Lawyers, architects, doctors and engineers apply, in practising their professions, the lessons they learned in the graduate schools. Only in politics has it been a piece of news when the professor actually engages in its practise, only in government does the student leave its practise with those who have never studied the textbooks, the professionals who, after a long and hard apprenticeship in precinct politics, have become bosses in their own right, captains of powerful political machines.

If our universities are to train men equipped to enter public life, and exercise an intelligent influence on public affairs, it cannot therefore be through teaching abstract principles of government alone, in the sheltered protection and ease of the university seminar, far removed from the main currents of American life. For government, in a democracy made up of so many clashing economic and social forces as ours, is essentially a practical study. A university may turn out, within its own walls, a finished literary critic, or a scholar able to interpret with rare sympathy the beauty of the literature of ancient Greece or Rome, but it cannot through library reading and lectures alone, train men competent to provide public leadership for the American people. Important though theory and familiarity with past history and political thought may be, it is equally important that our universities, in both their faculties and student bolies, keep closely in touch with the forces that are molding contemporary America.

Nor is it enough, with the *ex cathedra* assurance of intellectual superiority, to condemn, out of hand, politicians, the spoils system, the pork barrel, lobbyists and so on. If the educated men and women of America are to exercise the leadership which belongs to them by right, and give the American people a better government, motivated by a higher idealism, it is necessary for them to understand, first of all, why the present system exists as it does. Take, for example, the machine boss of a big city. Granted that he may feather his own nest through a rake-off in city contracts. The fact, nevertheless, remains that the city boss, head of a well-disciplined machine, helps feed the poor, looks after the unfortunates, and usually gives the average citizen fairly good police, fire and public health protection. The boss is on the job primarily because he performs for society a necessary function, albeit imperfectly and usually not too honestly. It is because the educated men and women in his community have failed to provide the intelligent leadership through which alone the city can reach a higher standard in its public services, that the boss ordinarily finds his opportunity to establish himself as the local czar.

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So, too, with other phases of our political system that so often excite the scorn of the intellectual. Granted the venality of the spoils system. None the less, in his way, the spoilsman has rendered a necessary public service. When his party enters office, he insists on a job on the public payroll, and usually gets it, because he has done so much leg work for his party—the ringing of door bells, getting out the vote, and so on. This work is essential to party victory. If the educated and more privileged prefer to play golf or bridge, the work will be done by professionals as a means of getting on the public payroll if their party wins. Lobbies, too, however great their abuses, also perform a necessary function in a democracy. Each lobby represents an economic, social or other group, making its views known to the legislature through an extension of the right of petition. The remedy for the abuses of the lobby is of course a more enlightened, and more vigorously expressed public opinion.

This is still an imperfect world. The faults of our political system find their counterpart in the vices of the individual citizen. If we are to find a remedy for the evils of divorce, and for juvenile delinquency, for example, we must first of all understand why they exist. By the same token, before we can eliminate the abuses of our political system, we must understand their causes. We must find out what lies behind the clash of sections and groups, why minority pressure has succeeded, understand the functions performed by political machines, and learn why it is that boss rule flourishes so widely.

Herein lies the significance of the current interest of college students in public affairs, and the realization, by universities, of their duty to provide better training for public service. College students today are not satisfied with textbook studies alone. They want to see how government actually operates and why. This is all to the good. Of great promise for the future is the fact also that, to a degree unknown previously, government is being taught by men who have served a tour of duty on the firing line, by those who have been faced with practical problems of administration, who have met politicians in the flesh and blood, and who have broken bread with lobbyists, and those who direct the operations of the so-called pressure groups. The undergraduate groups who have spent a week or two in Washington this year studying the New Deal in action, will be followed next year by larger groups. Whether the individual student decides on graduation to enter the public service or not, he will be better qualified by his Washington seminar, to provide community leadership on public issues. He will understand, far better than his elders of the class of 1916, or 1906, the public problems that face the country, the issues and conflicting points of view that lie behind the party platforms.

A democracy has a right to expect leadership from those who have graduated from its universities and colleges. It is a happy omen for the nation that so many undergraduates today are talking "politics." Let us hope that as times grow better, returning prosperity will not dull the keen edge of their enthusiasm.

MR. KEYNES AND THE CANONISTS

By HENRY SOMERVILLE

IN THE COMMONWEAL of September 16, 1931, I had an article entitled "Usury as a New Issue" with the thesis that interest on money loans, especially because of the fixity of interest, was the major cause of the economic disequilibrium called the depression and I said: "I make bold to prophesy that at no distant date there will be a startling revival of medieval morals in the matter of charging interest on money, or to use the old word, usury." In THE COMMONWEAL of November 12, 1932, I had an article entitled "The Villain of the Economic Piece" and I was able to quote Mr. J. M. Keynes as going a long way in support of my thesis and I said: "I believe that economic thought is now on a trail that will lead it to Saint Thomas Aquinas."

I meant that economists would come to see that loan interest is inevitably vicious in its general results and ought to be prohibited. Though Mr. Lawrence Dennis's book, "Is Capitalism Doomed?" was published in New York in 1932, I had not then seen it, but his diagnosis of America's economic ills came very near to resting on the Thomist view that money is a fungible, it is consumed in being used, and therefore it is unnatural to require a payment for its use as well as the return of the thing itself. There are no indications in his book that Mr. Dennis had any acquaintance with scholastic thought, he looked at the question entirely through modern eyes as a former associate in an investment banking house of New York and with experience in the United States diplomatic service in South America. His prescription is not that which I would regard as Thomist—the prohibition of lending at interest—it is high taxation of the rich so that the rich will have less to lend and the State will have less need to borrow.

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It is now such a commonplace thing for economic criticism to be directed against the credit system that illustrative quotations are not needed, and it must be recognized, of course, that many critics of the credit system offer no support, even implicitly, to the argument that loan interest is essentially vicious. I would, however, call Professor Irving Fisher, probably to his immense astonishment, as a witness for the canonists. In his book, "Booms and Depressions," published in 1934, he makes overindebtedness to be the first main factor of this depression and of other typical depressions. Professor Fisher does not recognize the peculiar responsibility of interest for the situation; nevertheless it is significant that this thinker, who in the past has been disposed to declare the business cycle a myth, and therefore not needing a general explanation, now finds that periodical business crises have a main common factor, which is excessive lending, or what is the same thing, excessive borrowing.

The most powerful influence in directing economic thought back to Saint Thomas is an ultra-modernist who apparently likes to think of himself as a heresiarch, Mr. J. M. Keynes. A passage in his recent book, "The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money," is, I rather fear, destined to become as hackneyed in Catholic apologetics as certain pages from Macaulay's "Essay on Ranke's History of the Popes." Mr. Keynes says:

> I was brought up to believe that the attitude of the Medieval Church to the rate of interest was inherently absurd, and that the subtle discussions aimed at distinguishing the return on money-loans from the return to active investment were merely Jesuitical attempts to find a practical escape from a foolish theory. But I now read these discussions as an honest intellectual effort to keep separate what the classical theory has inextricably confused together, namely, the rate of interest and the marginal efficiency of capital. For it now seems clear that the disquisitions of the schoolmen were directed toward the elucidation of a formula which should allow the schedule of the marginal efficiency of capital to be high, whilst using rule and custom and the moral law to keep down the rate of interest.

As regards their practical influence the canonists have needed no vindication at the hands of any modern economist. The authorities who have dominated the writing of English economic history, Cunningham and Ashley, were strongly favorable to the medieval policies. It is the theorists, not the historians, who have been the harshest judges of the canonists. Thus Professor Gustav Cassel in his "Nature and Necessity of Interest" says:

> We may even perhaps admit that the policy of the Church, under the given circumstances, added more to the sum total of human happiness than it took from it. Many a severe critic of the Church, from the time of Bentham to that of Lecky, has probably overlooked, or at least undervalued, the rational grounds for the interest policy of the canonists. But we must not, therefore, push our rehabilitation of the canonists to far. Even if we admit there was some practical advantage in their policy, it is impossible not to recognize in what an exceedingly bad position the theory of interest was thereby placed. The canonists defended their case by two methods which have always proved fatal to the development of strong and clear reasoning, viz., by sophistry, the worst degeneration of human thought, and by appeal to authority, the suppression of thought.

What the canonists in their supposed subtleties were trying to do was to distinguish between profit on capital and interest on money; they allowed the first and prohibited the second. These two things, as Mr. Keynes indicates, classical economics has confused. Ricardo used the words, interest and profit, synonymously, and he was more consistent than his successors who have elaborated distinctions between profit and interest while continuing to confound capital and money. It is true that the differences between capital and money are sometimes pointed out, but they are soon forgotten and their importance never sufficiently appreciated. Modern Catholic writers, it must be admitted, have fallen into the same confusion as the economists; they have represented money as "virtual capital," and thus entitled to the price of its "use" in addition to the value of the thing itself. I am not now discussing the ethics of interest and I need not quarrel with those who allow the widest legitimacy to the taking of interest, provided that it is allowed only for "extrinsic titles" as was done in the Middle Ages. But I do attack as an economic fallacy the doctrine that money is virtually capital. Capital is wealth used for production. The reason for treating money as virtual capital is that it is potential capital, it can very easily be exchanged for capital, for chickens which yield eggs or for shares in an industrial undertaking yielding dividends. But all wealth is potential capital; this does not justify us in regarding all wealth as virtual capital. Every ticket holder in the Irish Sweep is a potential winner, which, however, is not the same as being a virtual winner.

Let us consider whether the act of lending money is virtually the same as spending money in a productive process such as running a chicken farm or a railway. I urge no difference between lending for consumption and lending for production. The purpose for which the loan is used is the business of the borrower, not the lender. The important difference is that the spender on production, the buyer of a productive asset, claims only such product as actually ensues; he gets the fruit of his own property. The lender of money

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charges a price regardless of product. The canonists used to point out that as money is a fungible, a thing that is consumed in being used, it is impossible for the right of use to be separate from the right of ownership. The borrower of money acquires the ownership of that money, and if it be used productively the product in no wise belongs to the lender, for he has no share in the ownership of the thing that produces.

The buyer of a productive asset, I have said, gets the product, if any, and product less costs is profit. The lender of money charges the producer a price regardless of product. Interest is a charge upon industry, not a share in product. This is a translation for the general reader of what Mr. Keynes says about the opposition between the rate of interest and the marginal efficiency of capital. The higher the interest on money the greater the costs of production, the narrower the scope of profitable industry. The efficiency of any capital good is its power to yield a return greater than its cost; interest represents a subtraction from the efficiency of capital.

Classical economics, confounding money and capital, has assumed that the saving of money virtually means its investment as capital. Mr. Keynes points out that money can be saved as an alternative asset to capital goods, its lack of yield being compensated for by other attractions, its liquidity for example, and at certain periods, like the one we have known recently, the possibility of its appreciation through falling prices, or the prospect of a rise in the rate of interest. There are reasons, then, for saving money, without immediate lending at interest. This kind of saving, called hoarding, keeps up the rate of interest and keeps down the activity of trade. At the present time this factor of unexercised purchasing power (for capital goods and consumption goods) is of quite colossal magnitude, more in the United States than anywhere else, though in a small country like Canada it is authoritatively said that the banks have $50,000,000 available for lending which they are unable to lend at profitable rates.

Why, an objector may ask, blame interest for the withholding of money from circulation? Would there be less hoarding if there were no interest?

My answer would be in the affirmative. If there were no interest—and therefore little or no lending—there would be more spending on both capital goods and consumption goods. The classical economists would admit there would be more spending on consumption goods. It is the heart of the classical case that interest is the necessary reward of waiting, of abstinence, and that without the incentive of interest we should consume too rapidly and not accumulate capital enough. It is here that Mr. Keynes's "General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money" assails the classical theory. Increased consumption, says Mr. Keynes, will be met by increased production. Increased production means more employment, more wages, higher incomes all round. Higher incomes lead to greater saving, for it is a fact of experience that people generally save a higher proportion of their incomes as their incomes increase. Even without interest there are incentives to saving, and profit will continue as the incentive to active investment.

The sequence of increased consumption and increased production, increased employment and increased incomes, as stated by Mr. Keynes, will occur as long as there is unemployed labor willing to accept current wages. The classical theory fails because it does not take account of the surplus capacity in plant and labor that exists today. The classical theory is true only in conditions of what Mr. Keynes calls "full employment," that is, when no additional labor is available except by offering higher wages. When there is full employment, increased consumption could take place only at the expense of provision for capital requirements, but when there is less than full employment a stimulus to consumption is a stimulus to investment, to the production of capital goods, and thus more consumption means more truly economic saving. This doctrine is confirmed by experience; there is certainly more addition to the capital equipment of a country when the rate of consumption is high, as during the so-called boom years in the United States, than in a time of depression like the present when consumption is at a low level. Mr. Keynes, it may be noted, can be classed with the theorists who blame underconsumption for unemployment, but he is not one of those who blame overinvestment. It is only investment of capital that gives employment to labor.

Interest being a function of the quantity of money, as Mr. Keynes holds, and not of the supply of "saving," which is the classical doctrine, he would increase the quantity of money to bring down the rate of interest. He would not be deterred by a consequent rise in prices. He would not be disturbed by a rise in prices which continued only until the condition of full employment was reached, for until that time rising prices would mean rising production. To bring about the condition of full employment he does not trust entirely to monetary management. He would have the State do much in the way of directing investment. He believes in public works as a remedy for unemployment and, if I do not misunderstand him, he would manufacture money instead of borrowing it to pay for the public works. Borrowing for public works may stultify them as means of increasing employment.

Many students have joined with Mr. Keynes in showing interest as the villain of the economic piece, but he has done more than any other to indicate practical means of attacking the evil.

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ONTARIO SCHOOLS

By W. L. SCOTT

AS THE result of an intensive campaign carried on during the past five years by the Catholic Taxpayers' Association, an act has just been passed by the Ontario Legislature, remedying to some extent injustices in the matter of school taxation against which Catholics have been protesting for over half a century. While the act falls far short of granting all that was demanded, it does afford very substantial relief to the Catholic taxpayers.

Public elementary schools are, in Canada, supported in part by government grants, but chiefly by a special tax assessed against property in the municipality in which the schools are situated. In the Protestant Province of Ontario, as in the Catholic Province of Quebec, these schools are of two classes, general public schools and separate or denominational public schools, usually referred to respectively as "public schools" and "separate schools." In Quebec, where the population is nearly 86 percent Catholic, the public schools are Catholic and the separate schools are Protestant, whereas, in Ontario, where Catholics are a little less than 22 percent, the public schools, though nominally undenominational, are as a rule practically Protestant and the separate schools Catholic. There are, however, a few places where Catholics, being in the majority, are in a position to make use of the public schools and in these places the separate schools are Protestant.

In Quebec, it is optional with a ratepayer (other than an incorporated company or a publicly owned utility) to which class of schools he will assign his taxes, but all corporation and public utility taxes are paid into a "neutral" fund and divided between the two classes of schools in proportion to school attendance. In Ontario, while it is optional with a Catholic whether he will support public or separate schools, no non-Catholic is permitted to support the Catholic schools, even though he may have Catholic children attending them. Similarly, if a trustee, liquidator or receiver, temporarily seized of an estate of a Catholic, happens himself to be a Protestant, the school taxes payable with respect to this Catholic estate must go to the public schools.

The most serious disabilities, however, under which the separate schools have heretofore been laboring are with respect to the taxes of incorporated companies and of publicly owned utilities and the taxes derived from properties under lease to the crown. Heretofore, if an incorporated company could establish affirmatively that a specific proportion of its stock was owned by Catholics, it might, if it so desired, allot a corresponding proportion of its taxes to the support of Catholic separate schools. Otherwise, all its taxes went to the support of public schools. In the case of a large corporation, like the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, or General Motors, with its shareholders scattered all over the world and constantly changing, compliance with the condition was obviously impossible. In the case of publicly owned utilities, such as the Canadian National Railway Company, controlled by the dominion, and the Ontario Hydro Electric Commission, controlled by the province, both of which are very heavy taxpayers, it was argued that, as the property of the former in Ontario is owned by the people of Canada, 41.30 percent of whom are Catholics, and all of the property of the latter by the people of Ontario, 21.70 percent of whom are Catholics, these respective proportions of the school taxes should go to the separate schools. It was held, however, that as, in the eyes of the law, the sole shareholder in each of these companies was His Majesty the King, a Protestant, the taxes must all go to the support of public schools.

Lands under lease to the crown, of which there are a great many, especially in Ottawa, are in a similar position. Under the law, it is the religion of the tenant that governs and therefore the rates assessed against all of these properties go to the public schools, even though the crown's landlord should be a Catholic. The result of all this is that in Ottawa, for example, where the Protestant and Catholic school population is about equal, out of a total assessment against companies and publicly owned utilities of 45,500,000, 44,000,000 are assessed for the support of public schools and only 1,500,000 for the support of separate schools. The total assessment, including lands of private individuals, is made up of 130,500,000 assessed for public school purposes and only 27,000,000 for separate school purposes. Were the two rates equal, therefore, the separate schools would have to educate the same number of pupils as the public schools, with about one-fifth of the revenue. This being impossible, the separate school board has been obliged to fix a rate of 14.80 mills, as compared with the public school rate of 7.44, leading weak-kneed Catholics, who care more for their pockets than for their principles, to transfer their support to the public schools and thus still further increase the inequality. In Toronto, to cite another example, though the separate schools, as compared with the pub-

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lic schools, stand 1 to 6 in service, they stand only 1 to 91 in taxes received.

The demand of the Catholics has been that in Ontario, as in Quebec, all of these corporation and publicly owned utility taxes should be divided between the two classes of schools on the basis of school population and that the other minor grievances should also be remedied. The act that has just been passed, however, deals only with the taxes of corporations. Publicly owned utilities are not affected. Companies are divided by the act into two classes: (A) those in which it is deemed possible to ascertain the wishes of the shareholders, and (B) those in which this is thought to be impossible.

In the case of class A companies, the onus is cast on the Catholic shareholders to notify the directors to apply to separate schools a portion of the company's school taxes proportionate to the shares held by the party giving the notice. In the case of class B companies, defined as those whose head offices are situated and more than 50 percent of whose shares are held outside of the province, and also those whose presidents certify that the shareholders are too scattered for him to ascertain their wishes, the school taxes are to be divided between the two classes of schools in the proportion of the assessments of the individual supporters of separate and public schools in the municipality where the taxes are payable. If the companies affected act fairly, particularly those in class B, the gain in revenue to the Catholic schools should be very substantial. For example, it is calculated that this will amount in Ottawa to $70,000, and in Toronto to $170,000 per annum.

It may, perhaps, be thought that, even with the disabilities under which their schools have been laboring, the Catholics of Ontario should have considered themselves fortunate. They were much better off than, for instance, their co-religionists in the United States, who are obliged to pay taxes for the support of public schools that they cannot use and in addition, meet the entire cost of their own parochial schools. A review of the history of the question in Ontario and Quebec will, however, indicate that the Catholics of Ontario have been asking for no more than the rights guaranteed to them by the Constitution and for much less than the Protestant minority in Quebec have been enjoying since 1869. When the two provinces (then known respectively as Upper and Lower Canada) were united in 1840, a demand for separate schools for the religious minority came first from the Protestants of Quebec, but was soon seconded by a similar demand on the part of the Catholics of Ontario. The matter was not, however, satisfactorily dealt with as regarded Ontario until 1863, when an act was piloted through the Legisalture by Mr. R. W. (later Sir Richard) Scott, providing that where a religious minority established a separate school, their property should be assessable for the support of that school, at a rate fixed by themselves, and should be exempt from taxation for the support of the public schools. The preservation of these minority rights, as regards both Ontario and Quebec, was in 1867 specifically guaranteed by the Imperial Act that brought the Dominion of Canada into being. It is indeed, safe to assume that, had not these minority rights been thus embodied in the Constitution, the dominion would never have been formed.

So generously have the Catholics of Quebec behaved toward the Protestant minority that from the primary schools to the university, Protestant education in that province is publicly supported, under the supervision of a Protestant Department of Education, whereas what rights the Catholics of Ontario have are strictly confined to primary schools.

In 1863, incorporated companies were a negligible quantity and school taxes paid by them were not therefore provided for in the act. Nevertheless, as early as 1869, Quebec enacted legislation establishing the system as it now exists. In 1886, Ontario recognized in principle the justice of the Catholic claims, by making the very limited and unsatisfactory provision for the division of corporation school taxes described above. Despite constant urging by the Catholic hierarchy, no further redress was ever granted.

This was the situation when, in 1931, Mr. Martin J. Quinn, a Toronto manufacturer, purchased for $90,000 a block of the stock of the Weston Bread Company Limited and requested the directors to apportion to the support of separate schools, a corresponding proportion of the company's school taxes. His request was refused, upon the ground that compliance would arouse hostility in certain quarters. The refusal led to the formation of the Catholic Taxpayers' Association, a lay organization, with Mr. Quinn at its head.

With the approval and active cooperation of the bishops and priests of the province, a General Committee was formed with local committees in every Catholic parish. Pamphlets and circulars were distributed broadcast, and public addresses were delivered by Mr. Quinn and others, all over the province. By these means the support of a number of fair-minded Protestants was secured. Many secular newspapers, with no Catholic affiliations, gave vigorous support. Notable among these latter were the *Border Cities Star* and the Toronto *Star,* both leading dailies.

In January, 1933, a deputation waited on Mr. Henry, the head of the Conservative government then in power, and urged that legislation remedying the Catholic grievances should be introduced

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at the then approaching session of the Legislature. It was fully expected that the government would comply with this request, especially in view of the belief that at the two previous provincial general elections, the Conservatives had received the support of 95 percent of the Catholics. No reply, however, was ever received by the association from the government, and no action was ever taken. Moreover, the Premier was present on the following July 12, at an Orange demonstration, at which a resolution was reported by the press to have been "carried unanimously" condemning the granting of any concession whatever to the separate schools.

When, therefore, another session passed without action and a general election was approaching, the association decided that nothing could be expected from the Conservatives and that every effort should be made to defeat the Henry government. The decision proved a wise one, and the result of the election was eminently satisfactory. The Orangemen made the demands of the Catholic Taxpayers' Association the dominant issue in the campaign, but the Conservatives were nevertheless overwhelmingly defeated and, for the first time in thirty years, a Liberal government came into power. While the Catholics cannot, of course, claim sole credit for this result, they undoubtedly contributed very materially toward it. They sank for once all of their differences, political and racial, and united as they had never done before, and it is calculated that a Catholic vote 95 percent Conservative at the two previous general elections, was changed at this to one 99 percent Liberal. Not only so, but the Catholic vote polled was probably 100 percent greater than at any previous election. This was chiefly due to a great increase in the number of women voting, including members of religious orders, most of whom had never previously voted.

As it was felt to be essential to replace the Conservative government with a Liberal one, pledges of support from individual Conservative and independent candidates were not accepted, the association doing its utmost, in every case, to elect straight Liberals. As a consequence, of the eleven Catholics elected, all were Liberals. The most remarkable instance of Catholic solidity was in Glengarry (which despite its name has a French Catholic majority) where a French Catholic Conservative, pledged to support the Catholic demands, was easily defeated by the Liberal candidate, a Scottish Presbyterian, who was unpledged. To understand the necessity of such tactics it should be realized that under the Canadian system of government, there would not have been the smallest chance of the passing of a bill of so controversial a nature, unless it was introduced as a government measure.

Mr. Hepburn, the new Premier, had indicated his intention of dealing fairly with the question of the rights of minorities, but found himself unable to take the matter up at the first session. Up to that time, apart from straight Conservatives, there had been no serious opposition to the demands of the association. The Toronto *Telegram*, the chief organ of the Orange Order, in counseling the Brethren to accept the inevitable, remarked: "The government is going to pass the legislation asked for and that's that."

The year's delay was, however, unfortunate. The opponents of the Catholic demands took heart again and succeeded in working up throughout the province such a storm of bigotry that the government was faced with a most serious situation and undoubtedly showed great courage in dealing with the matter at all. The bill was bitterly opposed by the Conservatives, in the Legislature, who confidently predicted that its passage would spell the defeat of the government at the next election, some of them going so far as to threaten that the measure would be repealed upon their return to power. Under the circumstances the government probably went as far as they thought safe toward satisfying the Catholic demands. While the result is in a sense disappointing, a great deal has in fact been gained, not the least being the admission that the claim of the Catholics are just and that the satisfaction of them was long overdue.

The actual financial benefits accruing under the act, which will become effective in 1937, are also very great. Much will however depend on the attitude of the corporations, especially those in class B.

The writer cannot close without paying a tribute of praise to Mr. Martin J. Quinn, the incomparable leader of the movement. Though a business man, without experience in public affairs, he proved to be a forceful writer, an accomplished speaker, a wise, astute and determined leader and an untiring worker in the cause that he had made his own. Not until the inside history of the movement can be written will his qualities of leadership be made fully manifest. The Catholics of Ontario owe him a debt of gratitude that they can never hope to repay.

Lady Julian of Norwich

"I saw God at a point,
[Was this my Euclid read?]
One substance indivisible,
Immutable head."

I heard a Golden Voice,
[Or was it the Lady's cry?]
"Enter in at that point;
Be nothing, die!"

ANNARRAH LEE STEWART.

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A BOOK IS WRITTEN

By CHARLES J. DUTTON

WHEN I was in high school and during the time I was in college my father, who is a Congregational minister, used to show me letters he said came from a distant relative of our family, a Joseph Dutton, who was on the Island of Molokai among the lepers. Strangely enough, these letters did not interest me. I had heard of Father Damien, as many had, but somehow I failed to connect Brother Joseph and Molokai with Father Damien.

One afternoon twenty years later, I was in the apartment of a millionaire. It was a long way from the Rhode Island town in which I had lived as a boy. It was Des Moines, Iowa. I was clergyman then of a large Unitarian church. Bored by the tea that I was attending, I walked into this man's library and suddenly stopped in surprise. On the wall were two photographs. One, which is now in my library, was a photograph of Theodore Roosevelt. It was inscribed, "To Brother Joseph from Theodore Roosevelt." And another inscription had been added by Brother Joseph, "To my dear friend," and then the name of my host. Beside it hung the photograph of Brother Joseph himself, inscribed, "May God bless you," and "Best wishes, Joseph Dutton."

As I looked at them the letters which my father had read to me came back. Later, I found that my friend had given Brother Joseph thousands of dollars and had received from him many intimate letters, telling of the daily work at the leper colony, mentioning Father Damien, relating how Brother Joseph had become his executor. It was my privilege to go through nearly 200 of these letters. Somehow the kindliness and the sweetness of Brother Joseph stole into my heart. He would write of tragic things and then say, "God has been very good to me, to let me spend my time among such friends." In his last days his letters always ended: "Joyfully."

I think it was then that I decided that I wanted to write the life story of Brother Joseph. We discovered that others had wished to do so, and he had always withheld his consent. But before his death there came the day when he wrote my friend in Des Moines, Frank Waterbury, that he could use all his documents. There came also the day when Brother Joseph, blind with age, had to have his priest assistant write: "The good Joseph and I have been talking over the coming book. He is praying for it and hopes that his nephew is well." "I will see you in May," he wrote his friends. But that day never came.

Later, Father Wynne, of "The Catholic Encyclopedia," was to write me that he thought my wish to tell the story of Brother Joseph was an "answer to his prayers." Finally, there arrived 150 pounds of Brother Joseph's material. He kept everything that was ever written to him; and he made copies of all his letters. I shall never forget opening the huge box. My research assistant, who spent two years going through the material, was with me when the cover was pulled off. The very first document that I lifted out was in Brother Joseph's hand-writing. It was a valuable document: his story of Father Damien's last days, his conversation with the sainted priest, and the statement of Father Damien that the fierce attack upon him, which was to come through Mr. Hyde, was a falsehood. Written in Brother Joseph's own hand was just a comment at the end of the paper, "Since he volunteered this information, and since I never knew him to tell a falsehood, I believe it thoroughly."

There must have been 3,500 letters in this box, dealing with Brother Joseph's life on the leper island from the day he went there. Most of them were written in longhand, long letters, for Brother Joseph was a voluminous writer—he never used one word if he could use three. Matters of detail, then in the middle of a letter a paragraph giving keen insight into the man whom he had succeeded, the priest he had learned to love, Father Damien.

It was a terrific piece of work to read all these letters, to pick out the salient points. Much of the credit must go to my research worker who marked in red everything pertaining to Brother Joseph's personal life, his comments upon Molokai, and his relations with Father Damien. Some of the letters were pathetic. They told the story of Father Damien's last days, and how Brother Joseph, who nursed him and cared for him, recognized that Father Damien was a "restless, impulsive temperament," yet in the end, as the famous priest lay dying, wrote of the humility and the calmness of his death. Some of the letters were amusing. In a long series of them, Brother Joseph had a lengthy dispute with the health authorities at Honolulu. His horse was sick and he wanted a veterinary to come and see him. The horse was worth $20 and it would have cost $150 for the veterinary to come to the island. When this was brought to Brother Joseph's attention he acknowledged that he must have been "foolish." The wonder is, why Brother Joseph ever had a horse, since he never left the confines of the Baldwin Home.

Long before "The Samaritans of Molokai" was finished (it took two years to write) I reached one definite conclusion. It was in relation to the attacks made upon Brother Joseph by those who claimed he was seeking publicity and fame by going to Molokai. In any reading of the 3,500 letters, the 200 letters to Mr. Waterbury, the 75 letters written to my father, the few that I received myself, one great fact appears: Brother Joseph was happy in Molokai. He was serving the lepers and thought that God was good to him to have given him the privilege.

Just as there have been attacks upon his sincerity, there have been attacks upon the reality of his Catholicism. I am not a Catholic and without a doubt my intellectual philosophy is far away from that of the Church; but if there was ever a man who had a sincere and beautiful faith in the reality of his Church, it was Brother Joseph. Again and again in his letters he showed his devotion and his faith. It was the driving impulse of his latter years. He had a special devotion to his patron saint, and in a letter that he wrote to me he told me that he had prayed to Saint Joseph to watch over me. The wish touched me.

After he was taken to Honolulu, his first trip in over forty years, he wrote only a few letters. I have heard there were only seven. If that is so, I have seen five; and oddly enough Brother Joseph was talking of himself in

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his last letters. He was anxious to get back to his leper boys. He had decided to fly. He had a radio put in his room and listened to football games—though he had never seen one. He still ended his letters with these words: "I have had a happy life. Joyfully yours, Brother Joseph."

Now that Father Damien is going back in triumph to his native land—probably some day to be honored by his church with sainthood—there came back to me the words of Brother Joseph in a letter to Mr. Waterbury: "I believe that some day Father Damien may be made a saint. Saints have always been made out of humans, and those who have sacrificed and given themselves to their fellow men. I know that no man has done this more sincerely and earnestly than Father Damien."

My book, "The Samaritans of Molokai," was written from the personal documents of Brother Joseph, yet some day someone of greater insight than myself may go over these documents and reinterpret the lives of these two heroes of Molokai. Their lives are interwoven—the heroic lives of Father Damien who turned a hell-hole into a sanatorium for lepers, and Brother Joseph who spent forty years at Molokai cheerfully, contentedly, working side by side with Father Damien day after day, always happy, always believing God was good to him and ending his every letter: "Joyfully."

As a Unitarian I welcome the day when Father Damien's name will be added to the saints of his ancient Church; and somehow I have the feeling that this distant relative of mine, Brother Joseph—who turned his back upon a successful business career and went out to a lonely island in the Pacific to spend his life among the unfortunates, and did it cheerfully—may some day also be found worthy of being called a saint.

Prayer for Those Who Teach

(According to a legend from the life of Saint Thomas Aquinas.)

That I may have continually in mind
Thy blessed saint, Thomas at prayer,
in tears because the task's
greatness was more than he could bear;

and that I may remember too
mind's darkness, when it is not lighted by
the rays of Thy divine
brightness, to scatter night and give
sight to the blind;

in search persistently maintained, o let me find
guidance at first,
direction in all things, and at the last
a worthy end;

may growing knowledge more and more increase until
in knowing Him Who said, "I am
the Light of Truth along your way,"
we also know
and walk within the day.

EARL DANIELS.

Communications

A NOTE ON MEXICO

St. Louis, Mo.

TO the Editor: I have just finished reading "A Note on Mexico" by Ralph Adams Cram in THE COMMONWEAL for May 22. Mr. Cram simply recounts his personal experiences during his three months' stay in Mexico and attempts to draw but one inference from his observations, that it would be well for us in this country to place some confidence in President Cárdenas and, for the time being, to await events. Unfortunately, a reader uninformed about the real state of affairs in Mexico would draw many inferences from Mr. Cram's article which would be as far from right conclusions as Mr. Cram's own inference is ill-advised.

In order to be in a position to undo the harm which tourists and casual visitors to Mexico have unwittingly done to the cause of religious liberty in Mexico by reporting on their return that "things are not as bad as reported," "that churches and shrines are open," "that they observed no signs of persecution"—I went down there to get the truth. I spent a month in intensive investigation which was not merely confined to Mexico City, Taxco and Puebla, the cities observed by Mr. Cram. I covered not only those cities but a much wider territory. I had unique opportunities of meeting and discussing Mexican affairs with lawyers, doctors, teachers, journalists, reporters, students, soldiers, working men and women, bishops, priests, laymen, aristocrats, middle-class people and peons. It was further my privilege to enjoy the complete confidence of those with whom I conversed and to hear from them frank statements of their viewpoints. Mexicans do not tell everything to every chance visitor or investigator and have learned to be especially discreet when entertaining American tourists.

It is not surprising, therefore, that Mr. Cram, though reporting objectively what he saw, missed enough to make his report positively harmful. Mr. Cram tells us what he saw in Mexico City, Taxco and Puebla. To point out fully what he did not see in those cities would fill a volume. Here, it is not possible to do more than briefly comment on some of Mr. Cram's observations.

He witnessed a demonstration of 70,000 people in protest against the return of General Calles. He did not know that whenever the government wishes a demonstration for or against anybody or anything they force government employees to participate. For that matter, everybody in Mexico would willingly demonstrate against Calles but that is no indication that Cárdenas himself is not a persecutor.

Mr. Cram saw men and women coming from churches after Mass. I saw that also, but I knew that only twenty-five churches in Mexico City were open, and I knew that the government has been clever enough in their window-dressing to see to it that the more popular and frequented churches, especially those which tourists might be prompted to visit, were left open. Naturally, the cathedral and the Shrine of Our Lady of Guadalupe

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are wide open, but even such large churches are absolutely unable to accommodate the numbers who wish to attend Mass, for there is but one church open for every 40,000 persons.

Says Mr. Cram, "No churches, so far as I could see, were closed." One is tempted to ask Mr. Cram how far he can see. Did he not visit the edifices formerly used for churches which are now libraries, museums and, in several instances, theatres, where communistic propaganda is shown on the screen or improvised stage? Was he utterly unaware that every private school, academy and college had been confiscated and converted into government use?

In Taxco, Mr. Cram observes that the church was open all the time but admits that there was but one resident priest. When he saw, as I saw, both in Mexico City and Taxco, more than one priest assisting he did not realize that the priest was breaking the law and on the whim of the police was subject to 500 pesos fine or fifteen days imprisonment for this infraction of the law. He did not know that often enough the priests who have ventured to say Mass at the side altars of the cathedral, or the Shrine of Our Lady of Guadalupe, or in Taxco, were actually arrested by the police, "shaken down" for the fine or, if unable to raise the money, imprisoned.

In other words, Mr. Cram has failed to see that the enforcement of the laws against religious worship in Mexico closely parallels the enforcement of the prohibition laws in America during the days of prohibition. To put it bluntly, religion has to be bootlegged in Mexico. When the police want more funds they simply raid the churches and take in the offenders for what they can get out of them.

Mr. Cram should know that in some instances priests have been transferred from jail to penitentiaries, released eventually from the penitentiary but shot in the back as they departed, and the shooting justified by the government on the charge that they had attempted to escape.

Mr. Cram's visit to Mexico seems to have been confined to Mexico City, Taxco and Puebla: places where, indeed, the most favorable conditions exist, if conditions can be called favorable which entail such inconveniences as I have indicated. But, until Mr. Cram has also visited several, at least, of the fourteen other states where all churches have been closed, and all priests forced into hiding, he has no right whatever to draw any inferences from his superficial observations.

I have said enough, I believe, to indicate that Mr. Cram's observations were superficial. Now to deal with the one inference which he presumes to draw from his experiences.

Anyone acquainted with the true character of President Cárdenas would agree with Mr. Cram that Cárdenas is no grafter. And I can add that he is sincerely and earnestly communistic. But how Mr. Cram can conclude that he is a man of high principles when the essence of those principles is diametrically opposed to all that we Christians and Americans hold sacred and fundamental to human rights and liberties is more than I can fathom.

Perhaps Cárdenas does intend to inaugurate a policy of laissez-faire, as far as permitting churches which have not already been converted to government uses to be reopened. Cárdenas has given up the attempt to weaken the Faith of the older generation by open persecution. He is much more intent on the educational program which is being pushed so strenuously throughout Mexico: a program which aims to "enter into the consciences" of the little children and drill into them atheism, Communism and, under the guise of sex hygiene, immorality. If he can capture the children for the revolution he can well afford to appear tolerant in reopening a few churches.

But, even in the matter of reopening churches, Mr. Cram should know that, where they were reopened, they were turned over to any group which asked for them, whether they were religious, political or social. In very few instances did Catholics receive back their churches for the purposes of worship. Since Mr. Cram was unable to find out whether the decree by which the churches were reopened affected the number of priests permitted by law in the republic, may I inform him that it certainly did not?

As one who for several years has been actively engaged in trying to bring objective knowledge of what is really transpiring in Mexico, may I say that it is disheartening to waste energy and time in correcting impressions such as Mr. Cram's article gives? I am particularly sorry that space was given to these impressions in THE COMMONWEAL which has been outstanding in editorials and news reports from Mexico. I presume that Mr. Cram's article was carried by THE COMMONWEAL in order to provoke such comment as this. I know that the editors of THE COMMONWEAL have better sources of real information than this article reveals, and for the good of the cause, as one editor to another, may I suggest that they confine their articles to such authentic sources?

REV. G. A. MCDONALD, S.J.

Manhattan, Kans.

TO the Editor: Anent the statement of Ralph Adams Cram and others concerning the open and the closed churches in Mexico the explanation given by a Mexican clerical student is satisfying. "The laws on the church and religion in Mexico are much like your recent prohibition law. In some parts of the country it was enforced with a fanatical zeal while in other parts it was ignored by the citizens and public officials, yet all the while it served as a dangerous club in the hands of zealots and crafty politicians."

RT. REV. A. J. LUCKEY.

AMERICA AND WAR

Grass Valley, Calif.

TO the Editor: In line with your recent article on emphasizing the worst features of war, why not hold an exhibit of horrors and call it the World's Fear? The cannon fodder, of course, should be admitted free.

W. D. HENNESSY.

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Seven Days' Survey

The Church.—At graduation exercises at the nation's Catholic schools and colleges this year it is estimated that 51,000 students are receiving high school and academy diplomas, 12,000, bachelor and 1,400, graduate degrees. There will also be 1,200 graduates from Catholic normal schools and 1,400 graduates of major seminaries. During this month 1,100 regular and secular clergy will be ordained. * * * Representatives of Catholic colleges and Newman Clubs in the Eastern and Central States recently met in New York to plan the formation of a Catholic Student Federation of the Catholic Association for International Peace. * * * The Catholic Union of Book Workers last month published at Paris a beautifully illustrated volume entitled, "Our Lady of the Book" in honor of the Blessed Virgin. Fifty establishments comprising paper manufacturers, printers, photoengravers, designers, ink makers, typographers, lithographers, stereotypers and typefounders collaborated in the production of this "masterpiece" reminiscent of the dedicated work of the medieval confraternities. * * * At the silver jubilee convention of the Catholic Press Association held in Columbus, Ohio, May 29 and 30, resolutions on Germany, Mexico, the Legion of Decency and the Paulist Radio Station, WLWL, were adopted. * * * According to a decree of the Sacred Congregation of Rites just published in the *Acta Apostolicae Sedis,* the feast of Saint John Bosco is to be celebrated throughout the world on January 31, the day of his birth. Following the text of the decree is the Office and Mass of Saint John Bosco. * * * The twenty-first convention of the Catholic Hospital Association of the United States and Canada will take place in Baltimore, June 15 to 19. * * * Monsignor Duane G. Hunt, Vicar General of the Diocese of Salt Lake, began a series of five broadcasts, June 7, over the "Catholic Hour," which is heard every Sunday over the National Broadcasting network at 6 p.m., Eastern Daylight Saving Time. * * * The 700th anniversary of the death of Blessed Agnellus of Pisa, who was sent to England by Saint Francis in 1224 and founded the first Franciscan house of studies at Oxford, was commemorated at Oxford, May 17. * * * A revised list of over 500 books for leisure reading, prepared under the auspices of the Catholic Library Association, was recently published by the *Queen's Work,* 3742 West Pine Boulevard, St. Louis, Missouri.

The Nation.—A proposal by the powerful Republican New York *Herald Tribune* that the Republicans organize a coalition anti-New Deal ticket and platform received a mixed response, with opposition Democrats remaining silent and most commentators voicing scepticism. * * * The Veterans' Administration announced that since the founding of the nation, $16,755,000,000 has been spent in behalf of war veterans. At present 601,474 are receiving disability allowances, 377,473 of them World War veterans. One widow of a Mexican War soldier is still receiving a pension. * * * Over 6,000 Associated Country Women of the World gathered in Washington for their third Triennial Conference. Representatives came from every state in the Union and from twenty-two foreign countries. The business partnership of farm wives with their husbands was emphasized, and home economics received the greatest attention. Peace resolutions were deliberately avoided, for fear of giving the appearance of "gilding the lily." * * * The Resettlement Administration reports that more than 500,000 acres of land unsuitable for farming are being bought and developed for recreational purposes. About $4,000,000 is being used in purchasing, and 14,000 relief workers and 6,000 CCC enrollees are making the tracts agreeable for the 30,000,000 persons living in cities near the projects. * * * Heavy floods afflicted the erstwhile "Dustbowl" of the Southwest over the Memorial Day week-end. Six persons were drowned in Colorado and Kansas in the same region where 100 lost their lives in a similar disaster last year. The excessively fast run-off of heavy rain waters in that area of Colorado, Kansas and Oklahoma is said to have the same causes—that is, bad soil conditions due to improper farming methods—as the dust storms which arise after arid periods. * * * British representatives of the International Steel Cartel, here to suggest that the American steel industry join the foreign pool of resources, experience, skill and markets, were entertained in New York and elsewhere by the most powerful industrialists and bankers in America.

The Wide World.—On May 27, it was reported that the first of 276 German Franciscans accused of moral turpitude had been brought to trial, found guilty and sentenced. Three youths were said to have been indicted for collusion and given short terms in prison. The vagueness and contradictoriness of the dispatches made it hard to find out what the situation really was. Evidently most of the Franciscans are Tertiaries. This attack on the good name of the Catholic clergy had been carefully prepared during many months. * * * A revolution in Nicaragua was pacified when Mr. Boaz Long, American minister, succeeded in persuading General Somoza, insurrectionist leader, to call off the dogs of war. Previously the residence occupied by President Juan B. Sacasa had been under machine-gun fire for two hours. The loyal guard succeeded in repelling the attack. * * * On June 1, the Italian Cabinet organized "Italian East Africa" into one domain, consisting of five administrative divisions. By this action Ethiopia, Eritrea and Somaliland became one. Addis Ababa was declared the capital city of the new empire. A law governing the administration is said to guarantee the integrity of the Ethiopian Christian Coptic Church under the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Alexandria, while full liberty of religious worship is accorded

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the Moslem population. Slavery is likewise abolished. * * * The Peasant party, headed by Ion Michalache, staged impressive "mobilizations" throughout Rumania. More than 500,000 people are said to have participated in demonstrations in connection with which orators demanded the suppression of Nazi units, the severance of ties between King Carol and Mme. Lupescu, and changes in the government. * * * Strife in Palestine, far from abating, continued to be directed in part against the British. Bombing outrages, murders and acts of sabotage continued to occur both in Jerusalem and in the provinces. The principal worry, however, was whether a general strike planned by young Arab leaders, would materialize. * * * The French Chamber of Deputies convened, after M. Blum's address to his own party following had indicated there could be no immediate, drastic changes in the construction of society. Strikes during which workers affiliated with Communism refused to leave their plants appeared to be on the verge of solution. Sentiment favoring the inevitability of devaluation was apparently growing. * * * Writing in *La Vie Catholique* for May 23, Elie Baussart comments on the recent Belgian elections by regretting on the one hand that the dominant Catholic party had failed to clean house, and on the other hand that M. Leon Degrelle had turned a Catholic Action group into a political movement—Rexism—which threatened to disorganize the Catholic party and to menace the stability of Belgian institutions.

* * * *

Social Workers' Conference.—The sixty-third annual meeting of the National Conference of Social Work was held in Atlantic City under the presidency of Monsignor Robert F. Keegan, executive secretary of the Catholic Charities of New York. President Roosevelt greeted the conference with a letter: "Many of us are accustomed to appealing for the cause of humanity. Let us remember that humanity is not society; humanity is just plain folks. Some of our so-called leaders have made the mistake of looking upon men and women as economic and social units. Logically, therefore, they speak of men and women as individuals, just as they would of other things—of animals or plants or atoms. . . . Human personality is something sacred. It enjoys the light of reason and liberty. . . . Our social order is worthy of human beings only in so far as it recognizes the inherent value of human personality." The main debate was over direct or work relief. Aubrey Williams, deputy WPA Administrator, attacked the American Association of Social Workers for lending support to selfish conservative opposition to work relief. Joanna C. Colcord of the Russell Sage Foundation voiced the objection of many social workers to the disregard for and exclusion of direct relief by the WPA. On the last day, Paul U. Kellogg, editor of the *Survey,* tried to quiet the controversy by maintaining that both direct and work relief are necessary. Parker T. Moon of Columbia University addressed the conference: "Unless world peace is established on a solid basis, there can be no national security for America, no genuine social security within America." Winifred L. Chappell, secretary of the Methodist Federation for Social Work, said that capitalism could only exist in the West by using the form of Fascism, and that therefore we must turn to a type of Socialism. President Harold W. Dodds of Princeton said that "if democracy is going to succeed, it must not betray its youth. It must not permit conditions to arise which destroy individual responsibility, individual opportunity and self-expression." Otherwise youth will turn to Fascism or Communism which gives a religious feeling of escape from "depression-dismay," and the sense of merging one's suppressed personality in a greater.

Minimum Wage Decision.—Before adjourning for a four-months recess the United States Supreme Court, June 1, handed down by a vote of 5 to 4, a decision declaring unconstitutional the New York State Minimum Wage Law for Women and Children, on the grounds that it violated the "due process clause" of the Fourteenth Amendment. Justice Butler in reading the majority opinion contended that in drawing up employment contracts, "generally speaking, the parties have equal right to obtain from each other the best terms they can by private bargaining." In dissenting, Justice Stone declared that wages were not the "resultant of free bargaining between employers and employees" but may be "forced upon employees by their economic necessities and upon employers by the most ruthless of their competitors." The decision aroused widespread indignation among labor leaders and members of Congress. President Roosevelt told reporters that the Supreme Court was carving out a "no-man's" land beyond the authority of either state or federal governments. Secretary Frances Perkins declared that 3,000,000 women, half of those employed in industry throughout the nation, would be gravely affected by the ruling. Representative Hamilton Fish was greeted by much non-partizan applause when he told the House of Representatives he was going to Cleveland to have a constitutional amendment empowering each state to enact minimum wage laws embodied in the Republican party platform. Among those who employed counsel to fight the minimum wage law before the Supreme Court were the Hotel Association, the Restaurant Association, the National Woman's Party, the Association of Women Lawyers and the Women's Equal Opportunity League of New York.

The Papal Remembrance.—Pope Pius XI was seventy-nine on Pentecost Sunday, and the event was brilliantly commemorated throughout the world. An international congregation of 20,000 gathered for Mass in St. Peter's, where the traditional ceremonial made a brilliant pageant. During the day the Sovereign Pontiff accorded an audience to Catholic Action groups, and repeated to them his conviction that Communism is a grave menace. It was reported that Pope Pius's strength was visibly taxed by the day; and the act of blessing the people from the balcony of St. Peter's was dispensed with. In the United States, both the major broadcasting companies staged programs in honor of the occasion. Over an international N.B.C. network, Cardinal Hayes, speak-

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ing from New York, noted that "messages of good-will are pouring into the Vatican from very many not of the household of the Faith, who appreciate the exalted spiritual and incomparable moral influence the Pope exercises, outside of his own Church, for the common welfare of mankind." His Eminence, commenting upon the troubles of the time, stated that the greatest menace to the Church is "shipwreck of the Faith," and thanked God that at the helm was the successor of Saint Peter, "with authority to command and eye to direct the storm-tossed vessel." Speaking from Boston over a Columbia network, Cardinal O'Connell commented specifically upon the Holy Father's efforts to supply a doctrine upon which social reconstruction might be effected. He said in part: "While on the one hand the spirit of excessive nationalism is constantly increasing, the outlook which the Church develops, while sanely patriotic, still remains universal. At the very time that class consciousness is most rife, she, by her sacramental life, leads men into that unity in which all men are brothers in Christ. This unity of faith by doctrine and this union of hearts in love is the great and sublime purpose of that holy influence which resides, as in a center, in the Apostolic See of Peter."

Mobilization for War.—The Senate Munitions Investigation Committee brought into the open an attack on the army's 1933 wartime mobilization plan and the seven bills pending in Congress which would implement it. The army program requires the registration, on presidential proclamation of "war emergency," of all persons managing and controlling industrial establishments. The plants would be declared necessary for the maintenance of the military service and the registered citizens would be drafted into government service under the Secretary of War. The war machine would fix prices, establish raw material and sales quotas and annual contracts for any manufacturer, producer, dealer, distributor, carrier, public utility or person with contracts for products, services or real estate. Presidential control over personnel, including their salaries, would extend to all industries at all in contact with the war machine. Universal selective draft and press control "to combat enemy propaganda, disaffection, and establish rules and regulations for censorship," are included as well as strict labor regulation under "an outstanding industrial leader." The Senate Committee reported: "The industrial mobilization plan is founded upon certain general principles. Among them are that victory and its prerequisite, increased production, are the primary object of a nation at war to which all other aims are subsidiary. . . . In case of a major war the cooperation of labor is very important. . . . Testimony indicates that the War Department expects to secure such cooperation by laws and rules which are in fact, although not in name, orders to industrial and other labor to either work or fight or starve. . . . The War Industries Administration does not provide for any labor representation at all, except on an advisory council which has neither authority nor actual responsibility." Military officers believe the committee's criticisms are based on the fact that they did not include a 99 percent war profits tax.

The Black Legion.—Detroit officials requested the federal government to help in uncovering and suppressing the Black Legion. Prosecutor Duncan McCrea asserted that the organization had spread as far as New York State, but police in this commonwealth reported no signs of any activity. It was also thought that there might be an important link with Canada, but authorities felt that a death recently attributed to the Legion could be better accounted for as a plain case of suicide. While those accused of the Poole murder were being indicted, there was a noticeable rush by former members to destroy traces of their connection with the outlaws. Most of the general evidence supported the assumption that the Legion had been in part the outgrowth of labor difficulties. It was believed that many workers originally brought into the region as strike breakers had managed to hold their jobs by using the pressure of masked terroristic activity. The most interesting single bit of testimony was that given by an investigator for the Hudson Motor Car Company, who said that his associations with the Legion began when three of its officers assured him that they could furnish information about Communist activities in the plant. He stated that in Detroit an Episcopal church had played host to an organization meeting "attended by substantial persons of the residential section." Apparently Pontiac was the storm center of Legion exploits. There it openly entered politics. More recently police have discounted reports that any large membership existed, putting the probable total at about 100,000. The N.C.W.C. News Service said editorially that Washington would avoid, if at all possible, a federal investigation of Legion activities during election year. "Politicians are traditionally shy of crossing swords with organizations of this kind," it was said. "They will denounce them in principle but they avoid particularizing."

Non-Catholic Religious Activities.—The twelfth annual convention of the National Federation of Men's Bible Classes, which closed at Kansas City, Missouri, May 24, was attended by 6,000 delegates from every state of the Union and from Canada and England. Dr. George P. Taubman of Long Beach, California, declared, "The primary purpose of this movement is to win the outsider, regardless of his creed or lack of creed, to this Bible Class and thus into the church. Dr. Taubman deplored the existence of more than 200 religious denominations in the United States and the fact that throughout the country some 15,000,000 men who are nominal Christians attend no church services. E. H. Fife told of a Reemployment and Benevolent Agency in the Bible Class of Bellingham, Washington, which had found work for more than 3,000 people, given aid to a number of needy families and brought a number of people back to church. * * * At the close of its eighty-eighth annual session the New York East Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church adopted, June 1, a report which among other things attacked the administration for turning relief back to local governments, the inadequacy of social security legislation and teachers' loyalty oaths. It favored "drastic" labor legislation, the Wagner Hous-

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ing bill and the organization of consumers' cooperatives by ministers. The report also recommended the formation of a publicly owned broadcasting station, "free from commercial advertising." * * * Reverend M. E. Kern, secretary of the Foreign Mission Board of the Seventh Day Adventist Church, reported 150,000 new converts since 1930. One hundred million dollars worth of tracts have been printed in 169 languages.

Congress.—During the first week of June, Congress rushed its work in order to adjourn before the Republican Convention in Cleveland. The Wagner-Ellenbogen Housing bill, the Ship Subsidy bill and the Copeland Pure Food and Drug bill were apparently successfully shelved. On June 1, the Senate stayed up late to pass the Deficiency bill, thus apparently settling relief at $1,425,000,000 for WPA and $300,000,000 for grants and loans on public works. The President is in direct charge of expenditures. Two tax bill reports finally came out of the Senate Finance Committee deliberations. The majority was a compromise strongly favoring present methods as contrasted to the original administration recommendations. The majority plan would yield, according to its sponsors, $3,427,000,000 in five years, in comparison to the $3,295,000,000 which the House administration bill would bring in. The majority would keep existing corporation income taxes, at increased rates, and would add a tax of 7 percent on undistributed corporation incomes, and somewhat raise individual income taxes. Senators Black and La Follette are backing a plan about midway between the House and majority Senate schemes, imposing graduated taxes of between 30 and 40 percent on undistributed corporate incomes. The Guffey-Vinson Coal Conservation and the lobby registration bills were receiving strong support in the House, and had fairly good chances of being acted on by Congress. The House was laboring, however, on ordinary supply bills for the Treasury, the Interior and Agricultural Departments and the District of Columbia which consumed now precious time. Notable among late Senate acts were votes which left the way open for the completion of the Florida Ship Canal, provided some more engineers approve it, and which turned down similar approval for Maine's Passamaquoddy tide power project. After perfunctory debate, the House sent the record $526,546,532 Navy bill to the President for signature. Having ordered the trial of Dr. Townsend, the representatives have apparently decided to do little more about him.

Musicians Convene.—Conventions of the Society of St. Gregory of America are events by reason of the effective stress laid on the intimate relations between music and religion. This year the delegates met in Newark, New Jersey, on May 28 to 30; and the number of choirs which made a pilgrimage thither is quite astonishingly large. They ranged all the way from an assemblage of boys from the Church of St. Rose of Lima, Brooklyn, to the Glee Club of the College of Mount St. Joseph, Chestnut Hill, Pennsylvania. At the culminating solemn pontifical Mass, 6,000 school children watched Dr. Nicola Montani swing his baton and conduct a traditional Gregorian rendition. Two other Masses were likewise accompanied by extraordinary singing, one featuring two choirs recruited from seminarians, the other — a Gregorian Requiem—being sung by 350 Newark religious. An elaborate "concert of sacred music" on Friday offered such a wealth of numbers under the direction of such conductors as Nicola Montani, Warren A. Foley and Chester Duda that words which could describe the event are lacking. Between times the musicians in attendance discussed any number of problems. One of the most interesting demonstrations was the interpretation of ancient and modern polyphonic music by the Schola Cantorum of the Mastre Pie Filippini, of Villa Lucia. But even the art of teaching music to first grade children was not neglected. Some of the ceremonies were attended by huge throngs. The Holy Father sent his blessing; and the Bishop of Newark extended his patronage. It was a most successful convention, which accomplished a great deal to help on the cause of liturgical music in these United States.

* * * *

Labor Lineup.—The American Federation of Labor Executive Council appears to be in the process of taking some sort of drastic action against the Committee for Industrial Organization which has been formed by nine major affiliated unions to promote unionization on vertical lines. An "ultimatum" has been sent to the C. I. O. union members, and is apparently being rejected by one after another. The ultimatum demanded dissolution of the C. I. O. by June 3, and the Executive Council is to consider further action during its July meeting. The annual convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers provided, probably, a good sampling of labor sentiment in the affected unions. This convention unanimously rejected the ultimatum and reelected its officers. President Sidney Hillman defended his efforts to unionize open shop industries on industrial lines, declared the Amalgamated's continued purpose to go ahead with the work and contribute something over $100,000 to advance it, and tried to reduce the bitterness of the A. F. of L. split by interpreting the "ultimatum" as something far less formal than that and something over which an agreement might be reached. The number of famous visitors who spoke before the Amalgamated convention, and the united stand of the C. I. O., indicate that any attempt at serious disciplining of the one-third of the A. F. of L. at present supporting the Lewis-Hillman-Dubinsky group would bring an enormous cleavage in labor ranks. The Clothing Workers voiced almost unanimous enthusiasm for official support of President Roosevelt. Major George L. Berry, head of Labor's Non-Partizan League which is organizing support of the President, spoke before an almost completely sympathetic audience. In his address were cryptic remarks hinting at the formation of a specifically labor third party by 1940. This line was taken by another guest, Daniel W. Hoan, Socialist leader, who is committed officially to fighting resolutely for the pure Socialist ticket this year.

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The Play and Screen

The County Chairman

THE PLAYERS' CLUB revival this year, like the two previous productions, "Uncle Tom's Cabin" and "Seven Keys to Baldpate," dealt with the native scene. "The County Chairman" was first given in 1903, and was one of the hits of the theatrical year. More than one critic of that date denominated George Ade as one of the really great American humorists, and his play a worthy contribution to American folk literature. It is then altogether fitting that The Players should choose "The County Chairman" as a play peculiarly characteristic of its period, and should have given it a performance that was admirable both in its individual characterizations and in the spirit of its ensemble. No play that The Players' has ever given was more carefully prepared and more effectively presented than was George Ade's comedy; indeed it is doubtful if even the original production was in its final effect the equal of the revival at the National Theatre. "The County Chairman" is a play of many characters, or rather perhaps of characterizations, and for its proper performance the small parts are nearly as important as the large, while the evocation of the general atmosphere of a Midwestern town of 1880 is equally necessary. Both of these things The Players' under the stage direction of Sam Forrest triumphantly accomplished. Indeed, though every artist who took part is worthy of congratulation, first mention should be given to Mr. Forrest for his vivid, lifelike revisualization of a phase of the American theatre which is no more.

Of course first mention among the actors must be of the County Chairman himself, and Charles Coburn made of it a sympathetic, lovable, vital figure. Mr. Coburn has done nothing better in his career. Forrest Orr's Elias Rigby was equally admirable, a scoundrel, but a human one. Two characterizations which in some respects were the outstanding ones of the performance were Parker Fennelly's as the old soldier, and Ben Lackland as Jupiter Pettaway. Mr. Fennelly's was as vivid and lifelike an impersonation of senility as the stage has seen of recent years, and Mr. Lackland made a figure of what used to be called "comic relief" really comic—no small triumph. The movies are going to catch Mr. Fennelly and Mr. Lackland if they don't watch out! James Kirkwood was amusing as Sassafras Livingstone, and excellent bits were given by Lyster Chambers, George Christie, Arthur Allen and Jay Fassett. On the distaff side Mary Ryan gave a fine performance as Mrs. Rigby, Dorothy Stickney a most skilful depiction of the small-town vamp, Rose Hobart was attractive as Lucy, and Linda Watkins excellent as Chick Elzey. The other parts were all in capable hands, and the stage crowds were filled with color and movement.

"The County Chairman's" revival is a vivid reminder of how far the American drama has traveled since the century's first decade. In its day it was taken seriously, and yet with one or two exceptions the characters are either mere whimsies, or are abstractions of what were at the time demanded of hero, heroine, villain or comic relief. The women in particular, with the exception of Mrs. Rigby, are of a sort never seen on land or sea. They are not women, but the Victorian idea of what women ought to be—abstractions of abstractions. "The County Chairman," like so many plays of the period, is realistic in costume, methods of speech, the mechanics of life, but this is as far as the realism goes. In the things of the spirit informing the action and characters, it is real only in that it insists on the conventions of the time; any deeper reality, any criticism of life or character, it either dodges or touches sentimentally. It is true we have today gone to the other extreme, and many playwrights insist that truth can be found only in the gutter. In art, one distortion is really the result of a former one, and the sentimentality of the late Victorians was followed by the vulgarity of today. It would be absurd, of course, to condemn such innocent plays as Mr. Ade's for the completely opposite sins of its successors. It was the spirit of the time and not Mr. Ade which was the culprit. Mr. Ade gave at least a certain whimsical humor to his time-worn plot and characters, and this The Players' revival brought out magnificently.

GRENVILLE VERNON.

Bullets and Ballots

CROOKED politics and lawless banking are exposed under a hail of bullets and ballots. Admitting that the title is reminiscent of unadulterated nickelodeon melodrama, the play is entertaining enough as an exciting document of the vigorous style of modern newspaper headlines that blaze with police cleanups of racketeers as they flourish under supine politicians. The drama is not breath-taking, although it is punchy, nor is the play an especially inspiring theatrical performance. Its real significance is the undisputed, bare-faced relation of vicious mobs and their hidden overlords to community life of today. Edward G. Robinson's performance is the most notable event, even though oversoaked occasionally with heroics, the while Robinson, the demoted "cop," turns racketeer to "get the goods" on the higherups.

Frankie and Johnny

RASH trash properly describes the filmization of the old St. Louis river-front ballad, which, fortunately, is not in the class of motion picture plays that receive wide circulation among the best places. While the subject matter itself would preclude the lifting of any reenactment from above the level of the sawdust on the floor of the barroom which inspired the original ditty, the treatment and performances in this version would undoubtedly bring the sounding crash of the gong even in Major Bowes's amateur shows.

JAMES P. CUNNINGHAM.

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Books

Independence and Interdependence

Who Owns America? A New Declaration of Independence; edited by Herbert Agar and Allen Tate. New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. $3.00.

HERE is a book written by twenty-one men under the leadership of Herbert Agar. There are some divergences among them. The theme of all is, however, one. It is the restoration of the independent property owner, as far as they think it at all possible under whatever mass production is absolutely necessary. They want Americans to work again for "the American dream." They are, of course, anti-Marxist. But they know today's chief enemy; they are superlatively against the "monopoly capitalism" of the present and recent past. Their mainspring is a desire for freedom for common men founded in ownership by common men. They are as true Jeffersonians as it is possible now to be. They love small towns, farm-owning, farm-operating farmers and small industries. They hate big finance and big trade and (almost, but not quite) big industry. They are regionalists and pro-Middle Western and pro-Southern. They are for "freedom, self-government, equality." They love America and its historic better ideals.

I, too, am for a wide distribution of property; I, too, am for the historic better ideals of America and for the better American dream. This book well represents those ideals and that dream, but to me it is unsatisfying for the same reason that the dream itself has failed: it (but far more the dream) underemphasizes interdependence, brotherhood, the unity of people, the society of men, the general welfare, the common good, the organization of interdependent free and dignified property owners working for the common good.

America was born after the fading of another dream. That was the dream of a society of free brothers; it was the dream of the Middle Ages; it was a well-rounded dream. The Middle Ages fell by first denying brotherhood in practise, then by denying it in its religious foundations and finally, of course, by denying it still more in practise. America came afterward. It was created by men who treasured freedom but minimized brotherhood. America has fallen because its dream was itself wanting; one part of the dream fought the other part; liberty was assailed by economic libertinism; strong, shrewd, continually avaricious, unscrupulous, lucky or commercially minded independent men fought and defeated weaker, less shrewd, less cunning, unavaricious (or those in whom avarice was not dominant), unlucky or non-commercial independent men. The dream of freedom through widespread independent property ownership was fated not to be realized because even property ownership and freedom cannot be kept without brotherhood.

These writers well say that the America of the Liberty League is a mockery of both property and liberty. They know the importance of property and so they reject Communism. They include also the element of organized brotherhood such as cooperatives, even if not with full

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force. All this is good. But until an interdependence of free property-owning men becomes the clear and forthright aim, until organized and working property owners becomes the aim, then the light of America will flicker.

Pius XI says in that part of "Reconstructing the Social Order" where he is chiefly treating the status and rights of individuals, that unless the proletarian condition of non-ownership is overcome by ownership, we cannot be sure of avoiding revolution. That is, however, only part of the story. The title of the whole encyclical concerns a social order of organized industries, organized farmers and organized professions, working for the good of each person, each occupational group and the whole community, and functioning under an active state. Social justice to be truly effective must build "a juridical and social order." People must take on the virtue of social charity, i.e., love of brother for love of God and for love of Christ who died to make men brothers no less than to make men free. The encyclical emphasizes ownership. It emphasizes still more that other need, organized interdependence.

One might quote further and at length from the documents of Catholic social teaching to indicate new facets of this difference between "Who Owns America?" and Catholic social teaching. In so doing, one would still stand in gratitude to these twenty-one men for writing so glowingly of the virtue of property ownership, just as one stands in gratitude to the better part of the historic American dream and ideal. These writers to unfold their view are, however, autobiographical; and so I shall be.

I, too, am a son of pioneering families. I, too, am a Middle Westerner and a small towner. I, too, am a regionalist; my roots run deep in a new country which is at once border to the old South and to the prairies. It is the only country I know as home.

But, item one: the farm-owning farmers there have almost ruined themselves by being "independent" rather than interdependent, locally, regionally and nationally. Item two: part of the railroad men have saved themselves, part way, by organizing, and those who have not saved themselves at all have been lost by having their own and their national organizations whipped. Item three: the factory workers work in a decentralized industry, but they are unorganized and are driven into low wages, part-time work and inferiority. Item four: the bankers, merchants and professional men try to swing along, being as kind as possible, most of them, in a world that hammers them and that expects them in turn to hammer everyone they deal with.

If a person does not see that property is an interdependent thing, he will probably, in an industrialized era, if he wants property back again, make much in his program (as do some of these twenty-one) of the supremacy of the farming vocation and farming way of life over other vocations and ways of life; yet surely, men and the earth were made for many vocations and men can fashion any good vocation to human needs. He will be inclined, in the new industrialism, to emphasize smallness in industrial operations; and yet, men should be able to make their work and the tools they have invented, large or small, fit the needs of both consumers and workers, or,

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indeed, on the other hand, find their work and their tools, large or small, serving greed, arrogance, propertylessness, insecurity, poverty and a caste system.

He will be inclined also to exalt the country over the city in a city era; and yet, surely, our cities are large not first of all through industrialism but through the very independence of individualism and the tyranny of its own heir, the new plutocracy, and surely, also, wherever man must live, those places can be made to fit man. He will probably consent too quickly to public ownership of industries by reason merely of enormous size; and yet, surely, since personal ownership is of its nature an interdependent thing, it need not balk before mere size but rather embrace it until a point is reached when the industry in question is not only large but a key-industy employing a few men and ownable therefore in interdependent ownership by too powerful a few for the common good to permit it.

Pius XI's encyclical on "Reconstructing the Social Order" makes none of these mistakes. It hews to the line of creating human beings and human institutions that will serve human needs in this physical environment.

From the ideal of "Who Owns America?" and from the historic ideal of America, I appeal, therefore, to an older ideal from which this ideal was itself splintered off. It is the ideal of independence *and* interdependence, personal dignity *and* brotherhood, freedom *and* unity.

Or, in terms of property, itself: "The right to own private property has been given to man by nature, or rather by the Creator Himself, not only in order that individuals may be able to provide for their own needs and those of their families, *but also* that by means of it, the goods which the Creator has destined for the human race may truly serve this purpose. Now these ends cannot be secured unless some definite and stable order is maintained" ("Reconstructing the Social Order," pages 15-16).

Besides personal ownership, this order involves the order of "unity arising from the apt arrangement of a plurality of objects; hence, true and genuine social order demands various members of society, joined together by a common bond. Such a bond of union is provided on the one hand by the common effort . . . of one and the same group (i.e., industry or profession) joining forces to produce goods or give service; on the other hand, by the common good which all groups should unite to promote, each in its own sphere, with friendly harmony" (pages 27-28).

One more quotation. It is on social charity, the bond of this unity, this order: "Then only will it be possible to unite all in harmonious striving for the common good, when all sections of society have the intimate conviction that they are members of a single family and children of the same Heavenly Father, and further, that they are 'one body in Christ and everyone members one of another,' so that 'if one member suffer anything, all members suffer with it'" (page 44).

In a word, grateful as a person is for this book, the subtitle of the book that we need more is "A New Declaration of Interdependence."

R. A. McGowan.

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New Books on Soviet Problems

I Was a Soviet Worker, by Andrew Smith. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. $3.00.

Moscow Rehearsals, by Norris Houghton. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. $2.75.

NOTHING seems to be more difficult than to write an impartial book on Soviet problems. Every book on the subject I know is written either by a partizan of the Bolshevik system or by an opponent who bleeds his resentment. In the United States the books, written by avowed and undercover partizans are predominating. In nearly all the big towns there are snobbish bourgeois circles where one is compelled to admire Moscow's political methods in order not to be classed as a reactionary. It has even become the fad of so-called progressive people to take their holiday trips to the Soviet Union. Treated by the Soviet propagandists like a kindergarten, they are conducted in flocks just where Stalinism wants to lead them. They live in good hotels inaccessible to the average Russian and have meals unattainable by the natives. So they come home without having been in touch with the sorrows of Russian every-day life. But yet they now consider themselves experts on Soviet problems and praise Soviet life, whereas actually they could not endure the life they would have to lead in Russia were they natives.

For these parlor-Bolsheviks Andrew Smith's book may be salutary reading, though I fear they will cling to their prejudices rather than accept the prosaic truth, and they will find excuses to discredit the painful facts. For Mr. Smith and his wife (who figures as a collaborator) are not only disillusioned because they found their personal life in Russia less comfortable than in America; but they are also embittered and pharisaic, dreary and narrow-minded. It is not the author's criticisms, however, which make this book worth while. It is the recounting of simple facts of every-day life which such commonplace people as the Smiths are unable to invent, the insight into Russian factories and workers' mentalities, which give a clear idea of how far removed is Soviet reality from Soviet theory. Even discounting the author's resentment, there remains a lot of valuable information and of real Russian atmosphere that is not to be found in the books of the three-weeks experts and most of the partizans.

Norris Houghton's book on the Moscow theatre is the report of an admirer who has been enabled by the Guggenheim foundation to stay six months in the Soviet capital. The author is deeply impressed not only by the artistic standard of the Russian drama, but also by the Marxist theories on arts. He regards the naturalistic and realistic theatre with the highest approval, and praises the pedantry of Stanislavski and Meierhold, but he speaks in a rather tepid way of Tairov whom we judge the greatest master of the Russian stage. The author seems a little anxious lest when the first shock of general upheaval in Russia has been leveled and life becomes calmer, the theatre will lose the vitality of the individual expression which has made it so varied and so vivid. But his belief in the Soviet evolution is too optimistic to take such apprehensions very seriously. Also he makes light of the freedom

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in art lost by the Soviet theatre. The restrictions imposed by the tenets of Marxist dogmatism seem to him no more rigid than those by which the artists of the Gothic period were bound to keep within the theology of the Medieval Church. Houghton fails to comprehend that a religious philosophy does not limit the artist's freedom in picturing this world, while social and political dogmas notoriously narrow the expression of the arts.

THOMAS A. O'HARA.

Nine Critical Studies

Prophets and Poets, by André Maurois; translated by Hamish Miles. New York: Harper and Brothers. $2.00.

LOGICALLY there can be considerable quarrel with the categorical title of these nine critical studies of recent and contemporary English writers. The author's selection of this particular nine is doubtless proof against attack for he explicitly states that these are the "English writers who, since the opening of the century, have played an important part in the spiritual molding of one or two generations of human beings" particularly in France. If Galsworthy is excluded, for instance, the omission then is not necessarily due to M. Maurois's choice. But how are we to consider prophets, how poets? It is true these authors generally approached their work from a certain philosophy but this does not constitute them prophets in any but a loose sense of the word. Again Chesterton is indubitably a poet but the author fails to appraise his poetry which is more serious in his case than the same failure in others.

But the list: H. G. Wells, Kipling, Shaw, Chesterton, Conrad, Lytton Strachey, D. H. Lawrence, Aldous Huxley and Katherine Mansfield. With certain reservations Maurois's papers are equally brilliant and profound. A desire to be completely impartial, to submerge his own particular philosophy in order to maintain an open mind, and to allow the work to speak for the man is generally evident. Certain minor occasions would indicate that this ideal is not attained but then its attainability is open to serious question. There is, too, in approach to criticism and philosophic appraisal some necessity for the writer to stand on stable ground which cannot be philosophic neutrality. To illustrate would require inordinate space, but the treatment of Lawrence, whose influence on a Latin civilization is most open to surprise, might be cited.

Maurois obviously, and not inferentially, conceives these writers great at least in their own age. He is their admirer and in certain instances this admiration slightly beclouds his judgment of both the place their work has won or will hold in the future. Yet here critics may amicably disagree. The really important contribution of "Prophets and Poets" lies in the building up through careful selection of each author's fundamental philosophy and its application to his works, the examination of all its implications, and a finely perceptive estimate of his influence on the literature of his day—as a prophet, no, but a leader unquestionably. And in this larger aspect M. Maurois has done an excellent job.

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The Longest Reign

The Reign of Charles V, by W. L. McElwee. New York: The Macmillan Company. $2.50.

MR. McELWEE has carefully limited his objectives and successfully hewn to the line. The idea is a definitely short history of geographically the most extensive reign in history, and temporally also, a big one: 1516-1558. In order to cut the account down to the size of this monograph (238 pages), immense material had to be ruled out, and the work had to be given consistent themes in order to achieve a skeleton of clarity. Charles's personal life and character are only slightly sketched, although well sketched; the internal histories of Spain and the Netherlands and Italy are neglected, and the new Americas are left out. Economic developments are not given, and the tremendous social changes are only hinted at. Even at that, the book is compact with important material, mostly political, diplomatic and religious; and because of it, there is unusual clarity. The themes are Charles's unsuccessful attempts to unite Germany in religion and to transform the whole Holy Roman Empire into a national kingdom under his own house. A submotive is the persistent but not much rationalized aggression of France toward Italy. A corollary is Charles's constant effort to assemble a Council of the Church. The author is rather enigmatic in recognizing heresy as heresy while constantly praising compromise without defining it. While showing the enormously impressive failures of Charles, Mr. McElwee does not leave the reader with any clear idea of his incidental impress on Europe and America. But it is a well-written, temperate book.

Objectionable

Social Psychology, by Ellis Freeman. New York: Henry Holt and Company. $2.50.

PROFESSOR FREEMAN'S book summarizes rather clearly the tenets of a certain school of modern sociologists, but on all religious and particularly on all Catholic subjects it is badly—almost incredibly—biased. The author assumes that mysticism flourishes only where there is neither ease nor science; and in one place he quotes Solomon Reinach as all-sufficient authority for the statement that the Jesuits produced the horrors of the Dreyfuss case! But these are only samples of an all-pervading attitude.

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